Bulletin of SOAS, **72**, 1 (2009), 1–24. © School of Oriental and African Studies.
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Egypt under Muʿāwiya
Part I: Flavius Papas and Upper Egypt

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Abstract
Papyri from Egypt constitute the largest body of contemporary documentary evidence for the reign of Muʿāwiya. Most notable among them are the 107 texts in the archive of Flavius Papas, a local official of Upper Egypt in the 670s. Most are in Greek and provide insight into the administration, society and economy of a provincial centre. Since many deal with taxes and requisitions, they illustrate the incessant demands of the Islamic regime in Fusṭāṭ and the way local officials dealt with them. In particular, the archive shows the importance of Egypt for providing the men, materials and supplies essential for the war fleet of the caliphate. A few other documents from Upper Egypt hint at the economic role of the Church. This is the first of two parts, the second dealing with Middle Egypt, Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria.

For Egypt, the age of Muʿāwiya (which may be taken to include the short reigns of his son and grandson, so 660–684) has attracted relatively little attention. It lacks the excitement of the conquest, where papyrus documents illuminate the establishment of the new Muslim regime, and it is far less well documented than the early eighth century, when the enormous archive of Aphrodito supports detailed analysis of many aspects of society and economy.[1] Yet this period has produced more information than has generally been noticed, and presents an image of Egypt in the generation after the conquest, however incomplete the record may be. In fact, the material treated here constitutes by far the largest body of contemporary evidence in any source for the reign of Muʿāwiya.[2]

1 Documents of the time of the conquest are conveniently listed in Alfred J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, second edition, ed. Peter Fraser (Oxford, 1978), lxxviii ff. and summarized in PERF 550–67; many were edited and translated by Adolf Grohmann in *Etudes de Papyrologie* 1 and 8. They are discussed in the works in note 4 below. For the Aphrodito papyri in Greek, see P. Lond. IV with its long introduction; cf. H. I. Bell, "The Aphrodito papyri", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 28, 1908, 97–120. Many are translated in H. I. Bell, "Translations of the Greek Aphrodito papyri in the British Museum", *Der Islam* 2, 1911, 269–83, 372–84; 3, 1912, 132–40, 369–73; 4, 1913, 87–96; 17, 1928, 4–8. For the Arabic papyri, see Nabia Abbott, *The Kurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute* (Chicago, 1938) and Werner Diem, "Philologisches zu den arabischen Aphrodito-Papyri", *Der Islam* 61, 1984, 251–75.

2 For help in understanding it, I am grateful to Petra Sijpesteijn for her careful reading, and for detailed and general criticism to Bryan Ward-Perkins and Claudia Sode. I owe a special debt to Nick Gonis, who patiently answered questions at every stage

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The potential of these documents for illuminating the period is considerable, but they are rarely if ever cited in works dealing with Islamic history.[3] Their evidence allows the effectiveness of Muʿāwiya's regime in Egypt to be seen, reflects degrees of continuity and change, and offers valuable comparative material for understanding the administration of the entire Muslim realm.

By the time Muʿāwiya became caliph, Egypt had been under Arab control for almost twenty years, and typically Islamic institutions had been established.[4] The country was ruled by a governor (*wālī* or *amīr* in Arabic, *symboulos* in Greek) directly appointed by the Caliph and given broad powers. He controlled the entire administration from his headquarters in Fusṭāṭ and was especially concerned with the finances. His main subordinates were the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* in charge of the police, and the chief judge or *qāḍī*. Both of these were usually named from the leading local families of Arab settlers; the posts were sometimes combined. The governor commanded the only armed force in the country, the Arab troops settled primarily in Fusṭāṭ, who formed a ruling military elite. They were enrolled on the official register, the *dīwān*, which entitled them to a salary and supplies drawn from the revenues of Egypt.

The governor headed a vast and hierarchic administration that regulated the civilian life of the native population. It maintained many aspects of the Byzantine system.[5] Immediately below the governor were the heads of the five provinces or eparchies into which Egypt had traditionally been divided; they were called dux or amīr (*doux* or *amirās* in Greek), and had full control of the finances in their provinces.[6] They in turn passed on orders to the local worthies, the pagarchs, who administered Egypt's fifty or sixty cities and their territories.

of this work and saved it from many errors. My thanks to Peter Fraser must now, regretfully, be addressed to his memory.

3 They are not used, but only mentioned in passing, for example, in the recent and otherwise praiseworthy biography by Stephen Humphreys, *Muʿawiya ibn Abi Sufyan: From Arabia to Empire* (Oxford, 2006), 95.

4 For the administration, see the article "Misr" of V. Christides in *EI*^{2}, especially 156–9, and for the history, Hugh Kennedy, "Egypt as a province in the Islamic caliphate, 641–868", in Carl Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt I: Islamic Egypt 640–1517* (Cambridge, 1998) at 65–70. See also the useful surveys of Petra Sijpesteijn, "The Arab conquest of Egypt and the beginning of Muslim rule", in Roger Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700* (Cambridge, 2007), 437–59, and "New rule over old structures: Egypt after the Muslim conquest", in Harriet Crawford (ed.), *Regime Change in the Ancient Near East and Egypt: from Sargon of Agade to Saddam Hussein* (Oxford, 2007), 183–200.

5 For the Byzantine background of Egypt, see the outdated but comprehensive and clearly organized Germaine Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine* (Paris, 1928; henceforth "Rouillard") as well as A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton, 1949); cf. the summary of Jean Gascou, "L'Égypte byzantine" in Cécile Morrisson (ed.), *Le monde byzantin I* (Paris, 2004), 403–39. There is much useful analysis of social and economic conditions in Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt in Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2005), 130–44 (the state), 240–55 (aristocracy), 411–28 (peasants), 609–12 (cities) and 759–69 (systems of exchange).

6 Note that *amīr* in Arabic denotes the governor of Egypt, while the similar Greek term, *amirās*, is applied to the *doux* or head of a province.

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They were the most important officials at a local level, and the ones who have left the most abundant documentation. The cities had their municipal officials and councils, while the villages were run by a headman usually called *meizōn.* Initiative came from above; lower ranks carried out instructions.

Apart from the names and campaigns of the governors, and the identification of some of their main associates, the sources reveal remarkably little about the history of Egypt in this period.[7] The country underwent a period of turmoil that started in 656 with a revolt stimulated by increased taxation at a time when the growing army of occupation was making further demands on local resources. Protestors sent to Medina wound up murdering the caliph ʿUthmān, beginning troubles that lasted two years until Muʿāwiya (then governor of Syria in revolt against the caliph ʿAlī) sent in Egypt's original conqueror ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAṣ who restored order in the summer of 658. According to the usually reliable Armenian chronicler Sebeos, the army in Egypt, consisting of 15,000 men, had joined forces with the Byzantine emperor and actually converted to Christianity, an event that finds no corroboration in other sources.[8] In any case, ʿAmr ruled the country successfully, and with considerable independence and privilege, until his death in March 664. As a result of his services in securing Syria and Palestine for Muʿāwiya's cause, he was allowed to keep the revenue of Egypt for himself, after paying the troops and covering the costs of administration. At his death he supposedly left seventy sacks of gold coins which his sons were reluctant to take; Muʿāwiya, however, showed no such hesitation. ʿAmr's son ʿAbd Allāh succeeded him for a few weeks, but Muʿāwiya rapidly appointed his own brother ʿUtba, who died the following February. His successor, ʿUqba ibn Āmir, only held office for two years (665–667). Finally, the caliph chose a local worthy, Maslama ibn Mukhallad, who ruled the country until 682. This was generally a stable and prosperous time, when the resources of the country were devoted to the ongoing *jihad* against Byzantium that culminated in the siege of Constantinople in 674–678. Maslama moved to Alexandria in 680, appointing the *qāḍī* as his representative to control the capital. While he was there he learned of the death of Muʿāwiya and was instrumental in ensuring recognition of Yazīd as caliph. He returned to Fusṭāṭ at the end of 680 and died there in April 682.

Since the documentary evidence is abundant and worth discussing in detail, this study will appear in two parts, the first discussing a single papyrus archive and limited other information about Upper Egypt, while the second will treat Middle Egypt together with the two great cities, Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria.

By far the richest source for this period is the extensive archive of Flavius Papas, pagarch of Apollonos Ano in the southernmost reaches of the Thebaid in Upper Egypt. The city, now called Edfu and the site of a magnificent temple,

7 For what follows, see Kennedy, "Egypt as a province" and, in more detail, Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen, Abhandlungen Göttingen* 20, 1875, 19–32. Since most of the information in this section depends on sources written two centuries after the events they describe, the narrative may not be trustworthy in detail.

8 *The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos*, tr. R. W. Thomson (Liverpool, 1999), sec. 176; see the commentary, pp. 284–7.

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lies some 800 kilometres south of Fusṭāṭ, a journey of several weeks by boat, but much faster by land along the post road used in the period under discussion. It was occupied by forces sent by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAṣ soon after the conquest of Babylon (Fusṭāṭ) in 641.[9]

The archive consists of 107 documents in Greek of which the great majority have useful contexts, as well as a smaller number of documents in Coptic, mostly fragmentary and published only in summary.[10] All were found in a large jar, and constitute the personal archive of Flavius Papas, head of the local administration. The majority are official documents and the rest private documents and accounts. They were excavated in what may have been Papas' office or house, and appear to have been thrown together at the time of his death.[11]

The Greek texts were first published in admirable detail by Roger Rémondon in 1953.[12] They attracted relatively little attention for thirty years because they were dated to the early eighth century, a period dominated by the vast and immensely detailed papyri from Aphrodito, for which they seemed only to offer supplementary and confirmatory information.[13] In 1982, however, J. Gascou and K. A. Worp showed that they were in fact at least thirty years earlier than suspected, making them the prime source for a period that had seemed poorly known.

They noted a couple of peculiarities of the published Papas archive – that it was entirely in Greek, as opposed to the bilingual Aphrodito documents, and that it seemed to show a more hierarchical relation between the governing authorities, perhaps closer to the Byzantine tradition, and differing notably from the free communication between the pagarch of Aphrodito and the governor in Fusṭāṭ. They refined their arguments by examining documents that offered comparative material for dating (the entire archive of Papas, when it bears dates at all, employs only indictions).[14] The first document in the archive, P. Apoll. 1, for example, which refers to taxes of indiction II, names an amīr Ouoeith, who also appears in SB III 7240, where he is mentioned as having governed

9 Baladhuri, *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), 217, translated as *The Origins of the Islamic State* by P. K. Hitti (New York, 1916), 341 f.

10 See Leslie MacCoull, "The Coptic papyri from Apollonos Ano", *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. B. Mandilaras (Athens, 1988), II.141–7 (henceforth "MacCoull").

11 Roger Rémondon, *Papyrus grecs d'Apollônos Ano* (Cairo, 1953; henceforth "Rémondon"), v f.

12 Rémondon, with the additional documents listed in J. Gascou and K. A. Worp in "Problèmes de documentation apollinopolite", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 49, 1982, 83–95 at 83 n.1. The most important is **106** in J. Gascou, "Papyrus grecs inédits d'Apollônos Ano", *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron* II (Cairo, 1979), 25–34. The others are **107** in the same article, *P. Mert. I* 49, *PSI* XIII 1345 and *PSI Congr. XI* 14.

13 Their significance still escapes some: see F. Trombley, "Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and the Christians of Umayyad Egypt", in Petra Sijpesteijn and Lennart Sundelin (eds), *Papyrology and the History of Early Islamic Egypt* (Leiden, 2004), 199–226, who discusses these documents as if they were contemporary with the Aphrodito papyri.

14 The indiction was the number of the year within a fifteen-year cycle that originated in 312 and was originally used for tax assessment.

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the Thebaid. Gascou and Worp showed that that document was to be dated 17. x.697, and that P. Apoll. 1 was therefore earlier than had been supposed, dating to 658/9, 673/4 or 688/9. P. Apoll. 2, of 6 January ind. VI, mentions a governor ʿAbd Allāh, who must be ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd (648) or ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (708); there seemed no certain criterion for preferring one or the other. The key document was the undated P. Apoll. 9, one of a group of letters [**11–18**][15] from the notary Helladios; most of the dated letters are of an indiction IV. **9** quotes the order of an amīr Jordanes, who also appears in P. Mert. II.100, a document previously dated to 699, but now with certainty assigned to 669. Consequently, the dated letters from Helladios are most probably of 660/1 or 675/6, with the rest written a bit earlier or later.

Other indications of chronology are more general: **15**, from Helladios, mentions the collection of tribute from the Blemmyes, necessarily later than 652, when the governor ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd made a treaty with these Nubians after failing to conquer them.[16] This supports, but does not help to specify, the chronology of this group of letters. If mention of the *ergasia* of Babylon refers to shipyards, as seems probable, **29** should date from 674 or later, the time when the shipyard was founded.[17] That might suggest a date in the 670s for the whole dossier of the notary Elias, **26–32.**

Flavius Papas was part of a land-owning aristocracy that dominated the middle and upper – but not the highest – ranks of the Egyptian ruling class in the decades after the Arab conquest.[18] He was the son of Liberios, plausibly identified with a pagarch of Apollonos who was in office in 649.[19] Close relationships, and passing of office from father to son, are not unparalleled in this close-knit world.[20] When his father was pagarch, it seems that Papas was *dioiketes*, "administrator", of Apollonos [**3**] – that is, he held a subordinate

15 Henceforth, the documents of the Papas archive will be referred to simply by their numbers, in bold.
16 See the commentary of Rémondon, pp. 41–4; the essential source is Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 188 f.
17 See Aly Mohamed Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Cairo, 1966), 35–42 with further references.
18 For the role of the pagarchs in the aristocratic hierarchy, and their reduced status from the Byzantine period, see Jairus Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2001), 153 f.
19 He is known from a Coptic document published by W. C. Crum, "Koptische Zünfte und das Pfeffermonopol", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Epigraphik*, 1925, 103–11; text also in Monika Haritzka (ed.), *Koptisches Sammelbuch* I (Vienna, 1993), 232. Note, in this context, that there are probably many more relevant documents in Coptic than those considered here, but that virtually none outside the Papas archive can be dated closely enough to justify assignment to the age of Muʿāwiya: see Haritzka's table of dates, pp. 345–8.
20 Note the cases of Theodorakios and Christophoros, pagarchs of the northern and southern divisions of Heracleopolis just after the Arab conquest, who were sons of the pagarch Apa Kyros (CPR XXIV p. 199 n. 11); Fl. Paulos, pagarch of Arsinoe, probably son of Stephanos Kyros, who held the same position (CPR X p. 156 n. 23) and Fl. Petterios, also of Arsinoe, whose father-in-law, Fl. Menas, had presided there (CPR XXIV p. 179; cf. below). Likewise, Basilios, administrator of Aphrodito in the early eighth century, appears to have been the brother of his predecessor Epimachos: P. Lond IV, 1512, 1592.

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position, perhaps in charge of a district of the pagarchy, or administrator of a class of land.[21]

Papas therefore seems to have started his career as assistant to his father, in a position where he dealt with the requisitions of the central authorities – the amīr in the Thebaid and the governor in Fusṭāṭ. He evidently occupied a post of some responsibility, for he was summoned in this period to Fusṭāṭ to regulate the accounts [**6**].[22] His time in office cannot be closely defined. If he succeeded his father directly, he might have become pagarch in the 650s. The letter that mentions the amīr Jordanes (discussed above) shows Papas in office as early as 660 or as late as 676. So far, there is no way to tell how long he ruled the pagarchy. The example of Arsinoe (where conditions may have been different) indicates a fairly rapid turnover of pagarchs, with few lasting more than ten years; twenty years in office would be a rarity.[23] It therefore seems safest to see Papas as presiding over Apollonos in the 660s and/or 670s. In any case, he was an official in the time of Muʿāwiya.

Papas seems to have had an undistinguished local career, with no unambiguous indication of rising through the hierarchy. Letters of indictions IV and V (660–2 or 675–7) from the notarios Helladios (**11–13, 17**) give Papas the middle-rank title of *megaloprepestatos*, "most magnificent". This was a carry-over from Byzantine times, when the highest employees of the state were classified in three grades, *lamprotatos* (Latin *clarissimus*), *peribleptos (spectabilis)* and *illustrios (illustris)*.[24] The first two denoted governors of provinces, high army commanders and leaders of the bureaucracy, while the highest, *illustris*, was reserved for senators and the ministers of government, who formed an inner aristocracy. Promotion to higher grades came only through holding the appropriate office or by a grant from the emperor. As a further recognition of their importance, officials also received honorary titles, of which *megaloprepestatos (magnificentissimus)* and the highest *endoxotatos (gloriosissimus)* were the privilege of senators. Already by the sixth century, however, a process of inflation had deprived most of these ranks and titles of their substance, with *lamprotatos* and *peribleptos* becoming largely honorary (though *illoustrios* still commanded respect) and the designation *megaloprepestatos* spreading to lower ranks. By Papas' day, *peribleptos* and *megaloprepestatos* denoted middle-ranking officials like pagarchs, while *illoustrios* and *endoxotatos* were reserved for the top members of the hierarchy. Although the mechanism by which these titles were awarded after the Arab conquest is unknown, they continued to have a real, if degraded, meaning.

21 For the *dioiketes*, see CPR XXIV, p. 192 n. 2, and in more detail, the discussion of Arthur Steinwenter in SPP XIX, 19–25, 34–7.

22 Such summoning was not unusual in the early eighth century: P. Lond IV, xxvii, with references in n. 3.

23 See the list of *stratēlatai* and pagarchs of the Fayyum drawn up by K. A. Worp in CPR X, 153–5; add to these CPR XXIV, 178–81, 197–200.

24 See A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1964), 526–30, and for the use of these titles in Egypt, Otto Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden* (Giessen, 1930).

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The notary Theodore, writing in ind. VIII and IX (664–6 or 679–81), calls Papas both *megaloprepestatos* [**21** ind. IX] and *peribleptos* [**20 22 24 25**, ind. VIII and IX], usually adding *ta panta times axios*, "worthy of respect in every way". The notary Elias, one of whose letters is dated ind. XI [**27**: 667/8 or 682/3] more consistently uses *peribleptos*.[25] The notary Kollouthos adds the title *komes*, "count" [**49]**, while Papas' colleague the pagarch of Latopolis [**37–40**] and the lower ranking Pesynthios [**42, 45**], use this together with *politeuomenos* (member of the class that ran the municipalities) to address him, always employing *megaloprepestatos.* Their letters are all undated. Kollouthos also calls Papas *pater* and refers to his *patrike despoteia* [**50**]. Whether this indicates that Papas also held the municipal office of *pater poleos*, or was simply the subject of respect from a (younger) colleague is not evident.[26] It is hard to see any clear indication of progress here, unless the title *peribleptos* represents a higher prestige, gained around ind. IX. In any case, Papas is in no way comparable to pagarchs like Theodorakios or Johannes of Arsinoe who rose from being *megaloprepestatos* to *endoxotatos illoustrios*.[27] Nor did he have a glorious career like Fl. Atias, who from pagarch of Arsinoe became *eukleestatos doux*, then *doux* (provincial governor) of the combined province of Arcadia and Thebais.[28]

Papas was an aristocrat and landowner, whose estate (he may have had several) produced wheat, barley, wine and meat.[29] There were donkeys and camels, for whom a stable (*kamēlōn*) was under construction [**63, 98**, cf. **101**], as well as horses (their groom appears in **45**). Part of the grain was set aside for maintaining peasants, workers and animals, and for a bakery and transport; but the majority of the expenses in this account **[98]** went to the church.[30] Vegetables were supplied to a waggoner, a carpenter, a camel driver, a grain-sifter (*koskineutes*), and the church; they were also used for seed [**99**]. Papas had an agent, *pistikos*, who handled the money to be paid to the *Mauroi* and for yokes (?) and torches [**87**] and employees who were called (and called themselves) *douloi* "slaves" [**79, 68**, cf. **63**] – but apparently not in a literal sense: for that these documents use the term *andrapoda*.[31] His wife, Sara, had her

25 In the Coptic texts, Papas is called *peribleptos* and "your magnificence" (*megaloprepeia)*: MacCoull, 144.

26 He did not in any case hold the unusual title *komēs poleōs* as Rémondon supposed, for the *pol-* in his titulature is to be expanded to *politeuomenos*, as suggested by J. Gascou, "Edfou au bas-empire" in *Tell-Edfou soixante ans après* (Cairo, 1999), 13–25 at 15. Note the analogy with SPP XX 218.5 (Persian or Arab period) which names Fl. Demetrius *komēti kai politeuomenō*, as well as the full title of Papas' father Liberios: *peribleptos politeuomenos kai pagarchos*: see Crum, "Koptische Zünfte", 106.

27 See CPR XXIV.197–200.

28 Banaji, *Agrarian Change*, 138 f.; for his archive, see CPR VIII.72–84.

29 Papas' archive contains both official and private correspondence. For the complex economic activities, variety of crops, and kinds of employees on a great estate of this period, see Banaji, *Agrarian Change*, 187, 218 f.

30 The documents cited in this section are mostly fragmentary, apparently notes rather than final prepared accounts; **98** lists five properties; they may all have belonged to Papas; **63** shows that one of them certainly did.

31 The Mauroi were apparently black slaves provided according to the treaty of 652 with the Nubians: see Rémondon, 183, discussing **85**.

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own accounts which she used for charity [**87**, cf. **63**] Papas leased out some of his land to a manufacturer of oil (*elaiourgos)* who employed his own workers and animals; owner and lessee each provided half the seed for planting [**75**]. Since this document was included in Papas' archive, it presumably related to his property. The case of another lease (P. Mert I.49) is not so clear: the public authorities (*demosios logos*) lease the eighth part of an estate for one year to a party who will provide his own animals and equipment for sowing, harvesting and threshing, and pay the substantial sum of 31¼ gold *nomismata* as well as 31¼ artabas of barley. In this case, the term used for the leasing party, *demosios logos*, probably indicates that this was a lease of state land whose supervision fell to Papas.[32] In any case, Papas was a substantial landowner, part of an aristocracy whose dominance of the local economy and political office had increased considerably during the late sixth century, but whose fate in the turmoil of the seventh has remained obscure.[33]

The archive of Papas is exceptional in that it contains a variety of correspondence. Other large documentary collections of the first century of Islamic rule are more one-sided. The correspondence in the most abundant and famous, from Aphrodito, consists of letters from the governor to the administrator of the village; likewise, a mid-eighth century archive of Arabic documents comprises the correspondence between a pagarch and his subordinate.[34] The papyri relating to Athanasius, pagarch of Hermopolis at the time of the Arab conquest, will be of real interest, but they are not yet published, while the much smaller dossier of Flavius Atias, dux of Arcadia and the Thebaid at the end of the seventh century, consists of very short items like receipts and requisitions.[35]

Papas' archive reveals his relations with his superiors, his subordinates and especially his equals. Much of it consists of letters to him from *notarioi*, secretaries of higher officials, and in at least one case from a fellow pagarch. They evidently all belong to the same educated elite, and employ the same flowery language of courtly politeness.[36] Notaries address Papas in such terms as "my God-guarded master and brother" [**15**], "your admirable and honorable Friendship" [**22, 24**] "my brother admirable in all ways" [**28, 32**]. When inequity is involved, however, the tone changes and the inferior grovels before his

32 See the commentary *ad loc.*, and Banaji, *Agrarian Change*, 158. The editor chose the obvious solution that this was a question of a very large estate, but Banaji opts for an estate whose productivity was very high. Still, it seems hard to envisage an estate of which one eighth would generate enough revenue to pay what Banaji calls an "extraordinary rent".

33 For the power of the aristocracy in the fifth and sixth centuries and its growth after the failure of Justinian's efforts to restrain it, see Peter Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2006), 200–27.

34 These are edited in the unpublished thesis of Petra Sijpesteijn, "Shaping a Muslim state: papyri related to a mid-eighth-century Egyptian official" (Princeton, 2004).

35 Athanasius: in preparation by Federico Morelli (see CPR XXII p. 5, with documents 1 and 2); Atias: published as CPR VIII.72–84.

36 For the language employed, see Amphilochios Papathomas, "Höflichkeit und Servilität in den griechischen Papyrusbriefen der ausgehenden Antike", in Bernhard Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Vienna, 2007), 493–512, who shows that obsequious-sounding phrases reflect not servility or any kind of feudalism, but rather a politesse with elaborate rules.

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higher-ranking correspondent. Thus, Papas addressing the amīr [**10**], refers to Apollonos as “the slave city of my lord” and Pesynthios, a lower-ranking colleague to Papas: “by this letter I bow down and kiss the revered feet of your God-guarded Power [**42**]”.[37] An unnamed employee of the doux, writing in Coptic, signs off addressing “the footstool of your feet”.[38] On the other hand, Papas’ father can address him in singularly blunt terms: “all you write is false” [**61**].

Such language reflects a well-established hierarchical society, with a common traditional education shared by the Christian elite that held all but the highest posts. Those were occupied by Muslims. At the apex was the governor (*symboulos)* in Fusṭāṭ, who never communicates directly with the head of this remote city of Upper Egypt, but his orders are passed on. In 648, a message arrived under the governor’s seal with money for supplies and at an uncertain date, an official (perhaps the *notarios* Theodore), transmitted orders from the (unnamed) *paneuphemos symboulos* for naval supplies [**106**]. Although the governor rarely appears, his will lies behind many if not most orders, and any transaction that mentions Babylon necessarily involved the governor. When caulkers for the fleet [**9**], workers for the workshops [**29**], slaves [**51**] or requisitioned goods [**21**] are requested for Babylon or reported arriving there, it can only be because the central administration made the demand. The governor does not appear because his orders were communicated to the amīr, who passed them on through their own secretaries. Papas had no need to deal directly with the *symboulos.*

Other leaders of the new foreign ruling class – the *qāḍī*, the religious judge, or the *ṣāḥib al-shurta*, head of the police, also never appear, for their business was essentially with their fellow Muslims, of whom the great majority were settled in Fusṭāṭ. The caliph’s government is even more remote, but can make its presence felt, as when the “Saracens of the *amirās tōn pistōn*” (i.e. Commander of the Faithful, translating the caliph’s title *amīr al-mu’minīn*) bring a message to the pagarch of neighbouring Latopolis dealing with compulsory purchases [**37**].

Much more important for local affairs was the next below the governor in this chain of command, the *doux* or *amīr* of the Thebaid, based in Antinoe, some 550 kilometres to the north, but often travelling on tours of inspection.[39] Even he rarely corresponds with Papas, and then mostly in connection with personnel matters: Soubeeit [**7**] orders Papas to detain the bearer of the letter, and in PSI Congr. XI.14 wants a legal dispute about a debt resolved expeditiously because the man involved is the amīr’s fisherman and he has need of him. An unnamed amīr, probably writing in the 640s, summoned Papas to Fusṭāṭ to audit his accounts. Two of the holders of this office appear to have been Arabs – Soubeeit and Ouoeith [**1**] – but the name of Jordanes, who presided

37 For such phrases, see CPR XXV.176 f. All Pesynthios’ letters, **42–46** and PSI XIII 1345, are in a strikingly obsequious tone. His rank and position are hard to define: he may have been pagarch of a neighbouring city – perhaps Latopolis – or some sort of agent of Papas: see Rémondon *ad loc.*

38 P. Apoll. Copt. 5 in MacCoull, 143.

39 He may also have used the title *eparchos*, which appears in P. Apoll. Copt. 2 and 52: see MacCoull, 145.

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in the late 660s suggests that he was a Christian. It seems that most of the amīr's correspondence was in Greek, but his office also employed scribes who could write in Coptic.[40] Amīrs may have met or corresponded with Papas only rarely, but they certainly made their presence felt. The pagarch received their orders which could be expressed in firm, threatening or intimidating terms. Jordanes, addressing all the pagarchs of the Thebaid, threatens huge fines if they fail to carry out his orders or – even worse – "we won't accept his property in lieu of his life" [**9**]. Other messages, brought by subordinates, convey the ineluctable orders of the amīr, who knew what was happening locally and sometimes intervened directly, as in the case of two deceased men, their widows and their Christian slaves [**51**].

The amīr's orders are quoted by his secretaries (*notarioi*) or those of Papas' immediate superior, the amīr's representative, or *topotēretēs*, also based in Antinoe, but frequently away supervising local conditions or collecting taxes. The topoteretes seems to correspond to the Byzantine *praeses*, who never appears in these documents.[41] These officials, perhaps Christians (the only one named is called Christopher) are more directly concerned with local affairs.[42] One of them even announces his arrival in Apollonos, on his way to collect tribute from the tribes of the frontier [**15**]. They are the intermediary between amīr and pagarch, as in the case of the slaves noted above, where the topoteretes had intervened in favour of one of the women [**51**], and as shown by the topoteretes passing the decree of the amīr [**9**] to his notary who then communicated it to Papas. The topoteretes would also intervene in local matters, ordering people involved in a legal dispute to be arrested and sent to him [**18, 19**].[43]

The actual orders, though, were communicated by the ubiquitous *notarioi*, who plainly belong to the same class as Papas and share common attitudes. Of them, Helladios [**9, 11–18**] apparently works for the topoteretes (though he also receives orders from the amīr), while Theodore [**20–25** and perhaps **106**] writes in the name of both the amīr and the topoteretes, probably indicating that both have their headquarters in the same place – Antinoe; Elias [**26–32**] appears to be the direct subordinate of the amīr. Kollouthos [**49–50**], on the other hand, is evidently secretary of a neighbouring pagarch. They all write directly to Papas, as do Plato [**37–40**], pagarch of the neighbouring Latopolis, and Pesynthios [**42–46**], evidently of inferior rank to Papas. Except for the lowly Pesynthios, they all address Papas in the florid terms of equality, and are anxious that orders from on high be fulfilled. The amīr obviously inspires fear: "learn exactly his [the amīr's] intention because a word coming from his

40 Ibid., 142.

41 A slightly later document from Arsinoe in central Egypt dated 683, employs the synonymous term *ekprosōpou* for the representative of the *doux*: P. Grenf. II.100. For the topoteretes in the Byzantine period, see Césaire Kunderewicz, "Les topotérètes dans les nouvelles de Justinien et dans l'Égypte byzantine", *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 14, 1962, 33–50.

42 *Kyros* Christopher appears in **37, 41, 48, 86** and in a Coptic document (MacCoull, 144); for his position, see Rémondon, 89.

43 For the role of the topoteretes in the fiscal system, see below.

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mouth about tax collection must not be disobeyed" [**26**]; "the implacable order of our lord the amīr" [**27**]; "I cannot disobey the order of our lords" [**40**]; Papas seems not to disobey, but to stall: he delays sending the taxes [**26, 29**] or to perform some requested work [**40**]; the amīr has to write three times to summon him to Fusṭāṭ [**6**]; the notarios of the topoteretes writes several times, apparently in vain, to get a list of local fugitives [**14**].[44]

Ultimately, the local officials can only obey orders from on high, however difficult or unreasonable. A letter to Papas from Plato of Latopolis gives a rare glimpse into what may have been a common attitude. He reports that "Saracens of the Commander of the Faithful" had brought a letter from the amīr regarding compulsory purchases. The status of the messengers suggests this was a matter of some importance, in which the amīr had refused any compromise. "Let him taste the water" (apparently an invitation for the amīr to drown in the Nile), writes Plato, "the Devil brought him" [**37**].[45] Pagarchs at least can help each other out in the face of heavy demands. The same Plato asks Papas to lend him three ship caulkers, as the amīr had requested but Plato could not supply [**38**]. He also offers [**40**] to send workers to help Papas deal with another order from the amīr. Kollouthos, the notary of another pagarch, who cannot supply the cloaks requested by the government, asks Papas to provide them, offering to pay [**49**]. Papas indeed gets to work on them but typically has to be reminded to make haste [**50**]. Likewise, when Pesynthios is in need of straw for his horses, he asks Papas for a supply and sends a boat to collect it (PSI XIII 1345).[46]

As pagarch, Papas was strictly subordinate to higher authorities whose orders he would fulfil, transmit, or delay performing.[47] Most of them involved taxes and requisitions, but Papas also had juridical functions, and may have played a role in the municipal administration, to judge by his qualification as *politeuomenos*, or member of the curial class which traditionally filled town councils.[48] He could arrest people or send them on to higher authorities [**18**] and intervened to solve a dispute about a house and taxation [**22–24**]. Apollonos Ano evidently had a prison, as did the provincial capital [**63**].[49] For the most part, Papas was acting on orders, but in the case of a sailor who had moved to Latopolis [**39**],

44 For fugitives and their motives, see below, p. 19 f. Search for fugitives is a constant theme in the governor's letters in the Aphrodito papyri, as is the stalling of their recipient, the *dioiketes* Basil.

45 For the meaning of this phrase, see the commentary, p. 90; cf. **33**, 16 "he is greatly annoyed by the Saracens" (context missing).

46 For the association of this document with the Papas archive, see BL IV 91.

47 For a summary of the pagarch's duties in this period, see Adolf Grohmann, "Der Beamtenstab der arabischen Finanzverwaltung in Ägypten in frühislamischer Zeit", *Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte; Friedrich Oertel zum achtzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (Bonn, 1964), 120–34 at 131 f. For the preceding period, see Rouillard, 52–62, 96 f. and Roberta Mazza, "Ricerche sul pagarca", *Aegyptus* 75, 1995, 169–242.

48 For the *politeuomenoi*, members of the curial class who did not actually sit on the council or *boulē* (itself not attested in the post-conquest period), see B. Palme on P. Harrauer 60, p. 237. Papas' father, Liberios, had also been a member of this class: see above, n. 26.

49 For town and city prisons, see CPR XXII.43 f., with further reference.

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apparently on his own initiative, for his colleague Plato asks him to resolve the matter.[50] Papas could also receive petitions for justice [**69**], but his relation to the judge, *dikastēs*, [**61**] is unknown. In any case, Papas, in his private capacity, dealt with normal legal matters such as leases [**57**], mortgages [**58**], or loans against security [**66**].

Papas headed the local bureaucracy that in Apollonos included an accounting office (*logistērion*; its *boēthos* appears in **47**), and employed a financial secretary (*chartoularios*: **25**), secretaries (*notarioi* **57**), financial officers (*zygostatai* **83**) and the inevitable tax-collectors (*apaitētai* **42, 75**).[51] Papas also employed a messenger (*apostolos*) and a camel-driver [**89**]. The daily expenses of his office included allowances of meat, dried fish, vegetables and spices given to low-ranking employees (*paidia*), sailors, and to the Mauroi [**85**].

Amīrs, their representatives, pagarchs and notaries are all parts of a hierarchy that had lost little of its Byzantine complexity or love of rank and title. Ranking high is the treasurer, *sakellarios*, an office held by the amīr Ouoeith [**1**], who received money paid in to the treasury, *sakella.*[52] One document [**61**] mentions a lawyer (*scholastikos)* who held the high rank of *endoxotatos*, and presumably served the amīr. Civic officials include the *ekdikos* or *defensor* [**46**], the *kouratōr* and the members of the class who could serve on the town council, *politeuomenoi*, among whom Papas is counted. The bishop also had authority in civil affairs [**46**].[53] He may have controlled the *hospitia* (**46**: a term that could include poor-houses, inns and hospitals).

For tax purposes at least, the population was grouped into corporate bodies [**75**]. They included the landowners (*ktētores)* [also **76**], councillors (*politeuomenoi*), sailors, clerics, embroiderers, sellers of vetch (*orbaropolai*), fishermen, oil producers [also **57**], carpenters, potters (of jars and pots), shepherds, paid agricultural workers *(misthioi geōrgoi)* [also **48, 98**], and sowers.[54] The doctor who signed a mortgage [**58**] may have been an independent operator. Low on the social scale are humble employees called *douloi* "slaves", three kinds of bath attendants (*perichutēs, balneatōr, kapsarios* **97**, cf. **41**), and actual slaves, (*andrapoda* **37**) specified in **51** as Christian. Slaves were especially owned by Muslim officials, and appear to have been more numerous at Babylon than elsewhere: P. Apoll. Copt. 25 mentions people "in Babylon to serve as a slave",

50 The amīr, as in **51**, could also give his own messenger authority to fine and arrest.

51 For the pagarch's staff see Grohmann, "Der Beamtenstab der arabischen Finanzverwaltung", 124 ff., and for the *zygostatai* 127 f. For the *apaitētai*, see below, n. 61. The *chartoularios* named in **54**, who held the exceptionally high title of *endoxotatos*, could hardly have been a subordinate of Papas, but presumably was employed in the duke's or governor's bureau.

52 Rémondon, p. 9, suggests that this *sakella* was in Babylon, but the fact that the amīr bears the title of *sakellarios* would indicate that the treasury was his responsibility and therefore situated in his administrative capital.

53 For the municipal officials in the Byzantine period, see Rouillard 63–6, 153–6 (*defensor*) and index, s.v. évêque. Strictly speaking, the *kouratōr* and bishop appear in the city of Pesynthios, perhaps Latopolis: see Rémondon, 100 f.

54 Compare the guilds listed in the document of Papas' father, Liberios (of 649): Crum, "Koptische Zünfte", as well as those attested for Aphrodito in the sixth and eighth centuries: Roger Rémondon, "P. Hamb. 56 et P. Lond. 1419 (notes sur les finances d'Aphrodito du VIe siècle au VIIIe)", *Chronique d'Égypte* 40, 1965, 401–30.

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while the *andrapoda* of **51** were being confiscated from two deceased Christians and sent to Babylon by order of the amīr. Such slaves could easily be converted to Islam, hence perhaps the condition specified in **66**, where a slave is offered as security for a loan, with the provision that he be sold to Christians, presumably to avoid conversion.

An essential part of the administrative machinery were the various messengers (usually called *grammatēphoroi*) who brought the orders of the government to every part of Egypt. In the early years after the conquest, Muslims themselves were employed, called *mōagaritai* (from the Arabic *muhājirūn*) "emigrants" the common designation for the conquerors. They appear in documents of the 640s [**2, 3**], before Papas became pagarch. Later, on one occasion [**37**], the messengers are specified as Saracens of the Commander of the Faithful – in that case agents of the distant central government, but most of the time, the messengers are called soldiers or *stratiōtai.*[55] They were usually, if not exclusively, Christians: a soldier Sergius is named twice: in **9** he brings a message from the amīr to the topoteretes, and in **50** will transport cloaks from Apollonos to the pagarchy of Kollouthos. Soldier Enoch **32** (and an anonymous soldier **34**) brings messages from Elias; Johannes the son of Constantine [**51**], who brings Papas a message from the amīr, was presumably also a soldier since he had the authority to arrest the slaves of two deceased men. Likewise, Helladios orders some people arrested and sent with a soldier of Apollonos [**18**], suggesting that the pagarch, like his superiors, had a military force under his orders. The *symmachoi* of the amīr [**96**] were also messengers.[56] In **30**, the amīr's notary Elias sends a *boukellarios* with a message, a reflection of the changed status of this term, which formerly denoted soldiers in the service of great landowners.[57] The Saracen regime, like its predecessors, attached some importance to a postal service: the amīr sent a *veredarios* [**27**, cf. **64**] to determine the progress of canal building at Latopolis. This term denotes an official messenger of the rapid courier service, called *barīd* in Arabic and following precedents in the Roman and Persian empires as well as pre-Islamic Arabia. Some sources report that it was established by Muʿāwiya. He may perhaps more probably have reorganized or extended it. In his time, it reached from Syria to Egypt,

55 For the *stratiōtai* and their manifold functions – conveying letters, orders or money and transporting goods and prisoners – see CPR XXII, 267. Vassilios Christides discusses the various terms used for messengers in "Continuation and change in Early Arab Egypt as reflected in the terms and titles of the Greek papyri", *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie* 45, 1993, 69–75; he takes the *stratiōtai* to be armed messengers or gendarmes.

56 The term, which had long shed any military connotation, was in common use to denote fast messengers of the civil government. It was virtually synonymous with *stratiōtai.* All known examples are Greeks or Copts; most are attested in the sixth century, but the term continued in use through to the eighth: see A. Jördens, "Die ägyptischen Symmachoi", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 66, 1986, 105–18.

57 Rémondon, p. 78, takes mention of *boukellarioi* to indicate that large landowners still maintained their ancient powers and privileges; but for Grohmann, "Der Beamtenstab der arabischen Finanzverwaltung", 128, the *boukellarioi* were a local police or gendarmerie. Sarris, *Economy and Society*, 164–75 (with reference to earlier literature) has recently suggested that *boukellarioi* were imperial troops on active service, more or less illegally employed by great landowners for their private ends.

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Iraq, Arabia and the Byzantine Empire. The *barīd* had another practical use: as well as conveying fast messages, it brought intelligence from the various provinces to the caliph.[58] The *veredarios* presumably moved by land, but the Nile also served for messages, carried by boats of the *grammatēphoroi nautai* [**55, 23, 24**]. The demands of the state reached everywhere, whether in the form of taxes, requisitions, conscription or forced labour. In this, Egypt was following its ancient traditions, maintaining a long-familiar complexity that Papas' archive well illuminates. Tax collecting was highly organized, involved every level of the government, and generated an enormous amount of paperwork. It manifested a level of organization better known from the somewhat later Aphrodito papyri.[59]

The vast fiscal apparatus depended on accurate knowledge of the human and material resources of the country, and careful record keeping. As a first step, the pagarch (and his office) drew up the lists, *diastalmoi* [**78**], of all the potential taxpayers in the district, according to the relevant classifications. Individuals (these lists include only men) were classed as *onomata*, comparable to the Roman *capita*, presumably for assessment of the poll tax [**74, 76**]. One list gives names together with amounts paid [**80**]. Another names people responsible for the *analōma*, perhaps the tax for local expenses [**78**, cf. **77**]. One document [**75**] lists corporate bodies, presumably for assessments or requisitions, while another, on a more private scale, deals with "our *douloi*", apparently for their obligation for the compulsory purchases the pagarchy has to provide [**79**]. The government needed to know the agricultural as well as human resources, and for that the land was carefully surveyed. A surviving document, **73**, which covers fourteen irrigated properties (*mēchanai)* reveals the complex methods employed, and suggests that it may have been preliminary to establishing a more comprehensive land register. Something similar seems to have happened in Syria at this time: according to the medieval chronicler Michael the Syrian, who drew on lost early sources, Abū al-Aʿwar, a noted general of Muʿāwiya, counted all the Christian peasants of Syria around 668–670; unlike the Egyptians, they had previously not paid taxes.[60]

All this detailed information was sent up to Antinoe, where the amīr and his topoteretes saw to the assessment and collection of taxes and other obligations. The amīr played the central role, with general control of the provincial taxation [**37**], assigning quotas for the money taxes and goods owed by each community. He issued demand notes for taxes, (*entagia*, though the term does not appear in this archive), receipts [**1**] and orders for requisitions, *epistalmata* [**96**]. The demands were sent to Papas for transmission to the localities concerned; it was apparently the job of the local authorities to distribute the tax burden among the payers. It seems that the large landowners collected the taxes from their own peasants, which they then turned over to the official tax collectors,

58 See Adam Silverstein, *Postal Systems in the Pre-Modern Islamic World* (Cambridge, 2007), 50–59.

59 For the Byzantine and Aphrodito tax organization, see the convenient summary in Daniel Dennet, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge, MA, 1950), 66–9, 94–7, or in more detail, Rouillard 75–148 and P. Lond. IV, xxv–xxxii.

60 *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and tr. J.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1901), II.450.

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apaitētai.[61] This is evidently the case of Pesynthios, who sent his "fellow-slave" (his son) to collect poll taxes from the peasants of a village in Papas' jurisdiction.[62] Likewise **79** that mentions "our *douloi*" implies a similar system, reminiscent of the Byzantine *autopragia*, where the large landlords had considerable autonomy in collecting taxes on their own properties.[63]

If there were any problem with the taxes, the pagarch or his staff could be summoned not simply to the amīr, but to the capital, to explain his accounts [**6**]. For in this, the amīr, however powerful he seemed from the viewpoint of a remote provincial town, was very much the subordinate of the distant governor. In his province, though, it was the amīr who ordered requisitions [**10, 20, 96**] or compulsory purchase [**37**] of goods, who drafted men for work on irrigation projects [**27**], the fleet [**28, 38**] or the workshops (or shipyards) in the capital [**29**]. He issued rules about the pay of sailors [**28**] and concerned himself with strangers and fugitives in the provinces, people evidently trying to escape their obligations [**20**].

The topoteretes maintained and organized the lists of taxpayers [**39**] and, as already noted was the intermediary between the amīr and the pagarch. In **46**, he intervenes in a dispute about poll tax, requesting a couple to give a guarantee. It was the topoteretes who ordered a boat from Papas, so he could collect tribute from the Blemmydes of the frontier [**15**, cf. **11, 12**]. He also collected taxes from Papas, who on one occasion was ordered to send the gold to Panopolis where the peripatetic topoteretes would collect it [**10**].

Taxes were assessed in kind and in cash. The former, though of great importance, rarely appear in these documents. The ship that carried state cargoes (of grain paid in as tax) is mentioned once [**107**], as is a payment in wine: the amīr assessed on Apollonos 2,500 *knidia* of wine from the estates (*ousiakai*), which Papas forwarded in two boats, complaining about the serious shortages (*panstenōsis*) in his city as he sent the goods to the topoteretes [**10**].[64] The documents also refer to money paid in in lieu of goods that had been requested, a familiar practice, here involving wheat [**52**], oil [**88**], iron [**86**] and scrap iron [**88**].

The money taxes, *khrysika dēmosia*, are very much in evidence. They were collected in instalments, *katabolai*, twice a year [**19, 26**, with note p. 67]. After the tax demands were received, the local collectors went out to extract them for the population, turning them over to the *zygostates*, who paid them in to Papas. The money arrived in moneybags, *apokombia*, from which Papas deducted a sum for local expenses [**82, 83**] before forwarding them to the topoteretes. Some of this was paid out to embroiderers and carpenters or used to buy bread for the sailors of the fleet.[65] Papas also administered a

61 Bernhard Palme, *Das Amt des απαιτητης in Ägypten* (Vienna, 1989), 109 f., discussing **42**, the only significant text for these tax-collectors in the Arab period.

62 See **42**, with the editor's discussion; many aspects of this document remain obscure.

63 Rémondon, p. 104, deduces from this the survival of autopract domains.

64 Rémondon, p. 32, translates *ousiakai* as "domains", inferring that they were lands belonging to the state. Since large (private) estates (*ousiai*; see part II on the estate of Flavia Marous) still existed, however, it would seem preferable to interpret the term as denoting such lands and the taxes imposed on them.

65 On demands for the fleet, see below, pp. 18–22.

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logisma, or account for extraordinary expenses, on which the government could draw [**52**].

The *dēmosia* were primarily a land tax, but the poll tax, called *diagraphon* [**39, 42**] or *andrismos* [**24**] is very much in evidence.[66] It was assessed on all males over the age of fourteen, who were evaluated as *onomata* [**74, 76**], apparently a fiscal unit corresponding to the roman *capita*, in which an individual might be assessed as more or less than a *caput* according to his ability to pay. The topoteretes maintained the lists of those subjected to the poll tax [**39**: *katagraphē tou diagraphou*].

Complicated questions about the poll tax arose when taxpayers moved, whether legally or not. Pesynthios consulted Papas about a case involving the taxes of peasants of Papas residing in Pesynthios' jurisdiction and vice versa [**42–46**]. When the wife of one of them was threatened with arrest in Apollonos because of her husband's poll tax liability, Pesynthios asked Papas to send her back to her husband, who resided (or was working) in Pesynthios' territory. The solution apparently was to keep him on the tax register of Apollonos and, at the suggestion of the topoteretes, to make him give a personal guarantee before the local authorities [**46**, presuming this obscure letter deals with the same couple]. Similarly, a sailor moved from Apollonos to Latopolis where Papas had him arrested [**39**]. He complained to Plato (the pagarch of Latopolis) who left the decision to Papas, providing that Christopher (apparently the topoteretes) had not changed the sailor's tax registration from one city to the other. The question involved his *diagraphon* – his poll tax, and once again the topoteretes who kept the provincial registers was involved.

Taxes were not the only burden on the population which, as of old, was subject to forced labour. Some of this involved a permanent need, work on irrigation canals. The *notarios* of neighbouring Latopolis wrote urgently to Papas requesting him to send workers for his canal, for the amīr had ordered the work to be finished quickly, to such an extent that the *notarios* had had to drop everything, send one of his notaries to supervise the work, and urgently request extra labourers from Papas, as well as Papas' own appearance, to make sure the work was completed. The urgency was not only to carry out the will of the amīr, but to make sure the workers returned home in time to pay their taxes [**26, 27**]. There is no evidence that these workers were paid, but an account **[88]** that mentions payment to those who were working in Maximianopolis suggests that Papas had sent workers to the quarries there, and that they were receiving a salary. Workers conscripted for shipbuilding and the fleet will be considered below.

The pagarch was also responsible for some services. The topoteretes required a boat [**11, 12**] for which the materials would be furnished, to be built, evidently for government service.[67] This involved accumulating materials and mobilizing a local workforce. On another occasion [**15**], the *notarios* Helladios, who had reached Latopolis, requested that a fishing boat be put at his disposal the next

66 For these terms, see Nikolaos Gonis, "Two poll-tax receipts from early Islamic Egypt", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 131, 2000, 150–54 with further references; cf. CPR XXII 1, for the introduction of this tax.

67 For the terms for the various types of boats, and the materials from which they were constructed, see Trombley, "Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ", 212–4.

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day when he arrived at Apollonos, so that he could use it to go to the frontier and collect tribute from the Blemmydes. Such boats were not necessarily pressed into service as two slightly obscure letters [**31, 32**] reveal. Here, the notarios Elias has hired a boat that now needed repairs, for which the notary would supply the wood. The boat's owner delayed the work so he could stay at home, in a village of Papas' pagarchy. Elias therefore requested Papas to make sure the work was finished and the boat delivered.

Like this service, the state also paid for the goods it required. One of the earliest documents of the dossier [**2**] of 648, accompanied 22½ solidi sent by a *mōagaritēs* under the seal of the governor ʿAbd Allāh, as payment for three months' supply of cows' and goats' milk. The author of an undated anonymous document [**107]** sends Papas three nomismata to buy firewood and send it on to him; the money came from *philoi* in Babylon, perhaps officers of the Treasury. He also requests (apparently as a personal favour) some charcoal for the coming winter. An early document [**3]**, probably of the 640s, suggests that the *mōagaritēs* who brought the letter simply demanded a quantity of firewood (cf. **4**, apparently in the same hand, a request for wood or firewood). Firewood was in constant demand [**33, 36, 93, 95**] especially for the forges at the shipyards of Babylon, as attested in the Aphrodito archive. Compulsory purchases could also pose a problem, for the pagarch had to find the goods and buy them at a price that corresponded with what the state paid. Plato of Latopolis expressed his disgust [**37**] at such an order from the amīr, whose importance can be judged by the fact that it was brought by four Saracens of the caliph himself, who refused to make any concession.

Requisitions of goods further added to the local burdens. Prominent among them was the *rouzikon* or *rizq*, an essential part of the supply system for the Muslim military imposed on the non-Muslim population.[68] It was an entitlement for the Muslims by right of conquest and encompassed a range of products. The *rizq* was collected in Egypt from the very beginning, at the time of the conquest of Babylon by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAṣ. He assessed a poll-tax of two dinars on every adult male, and a subsistence allowance for the Muslims of wheat, honey, oil and vinegar. These goods would be stored in and issued from a special warehouse, the *dār al-rizq*. He took a census of the Muslims, each of whom was to receive from the Egyptian population every year a long woollen robe (for which a Coptic robe could be substituted), an upper cloak or burnoose, a turban, trousers and shoes.[69] These demands were approved by the caliph ʿUmar, but already had a precedent from the time of the Prophet, who imposed a tribute of 2,000 robes on the Christians of Najran in the Yemen.[70]

68 See Philip Mayerson, "'*Ρουζικον* and '*Ρογα* in the post-conquest papyri", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 100, 1994, 126–8 and *idem*, "An additional note on '*Ρουζικον* (Ar. *rizq*)", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 107, 1995, 279–82. Note Rémondon's apposite remark, p. 197: "L'arzāq al-Muslimīn [i.e., rizq] est un chapitre des impots réguliers". The term *roga*, which appears in Byzantine papyri of the sixth century, denoted a payment in money or kind for a soldier, while *rizq* applied specifically to goods for the Muslim forces.

69 Baladhuri 214 f. (translation 338 f.)

70 See Michael Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton, 1984), 113 f.

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Notable among these obligations, and most difficult to procure, were the long woollen gowns, called in these documents *gonakhia* and specified as highly embroidered.[71] They seem to have been especially valued, for when Muʿāwiya asked ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAṣ how he should deal with anyone who captured or beheaded his enemies, ʿAmr responded that he should be like the Emperor and "offer him wealth and some of the garments of Egypt".[72] On one occasion, a neighbouring pagarch (quite likely of Latopolis) had been ordered to supply *gonakhia* for the *rizq* but for some reason was unable; his notary wrote to Papas asking him to provide them, against payment [**29, 30**]. Because of the importance of this obligation, embroiderers were treated with care: when Plato, pagarch of Latopolis, attempted to send two of them to Babylon to fill his quota of conscripted labourers, the amīr sent them back [**38**]. Embroiderers were important enough to form a category of taxpayers [**75**, cf. above] and one account records payment to an embroiderer in the same context as issue of bread for the sailors [**83**]. Another document [**94]** lists seasoning, dried fish and cheese to be issued to the camel drivers. Such goods were presumably paid out of the storehouses of the *rouzikon*, whose contents are illuminated by **93**, a list of products which have been identified as the contents of a state storehouse. They include old wine, salt, nuts, vinegar, garum, meat, cheese, honey, pigeons, boiled down wine and dates. In addition, there was wine, salt, saltpeter, torches, saffron, firewood, and mustard to be delivered to the boat of Aaron, who may have been a *pistikos* or supply agent of the government.[73]

These documents also reveal a major effort of the government, to which a substantial part of the taxes and requisitions were evidently devoted: the fleet. Orders for men and materials came from on high, and took priority over local needs. In one letter to Papas [**106**], a notarios – probably Theodore – reports that the *symboulos* himself, the governor in Babylon, had given orders to use every means to send sailors with their equipment and food supplies. The governor was eager that the sailors be assembled and sent on in all haste, and wrote ordering that their equipment and food supplies be provided from the taxes. The amīr also sent orders specifying that a *litra* of bread and an *artaba* of wheat for each sailor be delivered to *pistikoi*, who would make sure that it reached its destination intact. The tone, the haste and the demands show that this represents preparation for a major naval expedition, a *kourson* of the kind well known from the documents of Aphrodito, written a generation or more later.

Requisitions for the fleet were routine and provoked great hardship locally. On one occasion [**28**], the notary Elias informed Papas of a problem that had arisen regarding sailors who had been called up for service in the fleet from the pagarchies of Panopolis, Antaeopolis and Apollonopolis. It seems that the locals had paid substitutes to go in their place. The question arose about who

71 They are described as *orthoplouma* and *hypsela* in **49**. See Federico Morelli, "*Gonachia* e *kaunakai* nei papiri", *JPP* 32, 2002, 55–81.

72 Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1879–1901), II 211, translated as *Between Civil Wars: The Caliphate of Muʿāwiyah* by Michael Morony (Albany, NY, 1987), 221.

73 As suggested by Rémondon, p. 195. For the *pistikoi*, see CPR XXV.179 f.

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should receive the pay the government normally issued to the sailors. The matter was referred to the amīr who ruled that only the people actually going to sea – *eis tēn thalassan* – should be paid. In other words, a naval expedition was being planned, and the locals had no desire to serve on the sea, far from home. The same document shows that the sailors' pay came from the money taxes, *dēmosia khrysika*.

Going to sea was not the only problem, for ships had to be built as well as manned, and for that the shipyard of Babylon required workers. Skilled workers like carpenters [**30**] and caulkers [**9, 38**] were especially needed. They were routinely conscripted from the pagarchies, however remote. As usual, the orders came from on high. When the amīr learned how many men were required for the *ergasia* of Babylon, he sent round a circular specifying the quota for each pagarchy [**29**].[74] In Papas' case, it was three, but the notary Elias specifically warned him not to try to substitute unskilled workers for the needed specialists. This caused a real problem, for caulkers were hard to find and were needed locally. When Plato, pagarch of the neighbouring Latopolis, had to fill a quota of five caulkers [**38**] he sent five men, but three were rejected because one was in charge of a commissary (presumably for storing goods paid in as tax) and the others were embroiderers – all workers the government wanted to have stay in their place carrying out work it deemed useful. Plato therefore wrote to Papas asking him to lend him five caulkers, promising to take care of their expenses himself.

The naval demands were liked even less by the conscripted workers. As noted, some paid substitutes to go to sea in their place, but a more common response was to run away, to move to a different pagarchy where they might escape notice. This stirred a strong response from the authorities. The amīr Jordanes, who presided around 670, wrote an angry letter to all the pagarchs of the Thebaid:

> since the caulkers working on the ships of Babylon have fled, we have ordered our topoteretes not to let one single caulker escape without sending him to us; anyone who keeps or hides a caulker will pay 1000 solidi, if he has the means; and we have ordered that the present sealed letter be shown to you. Therefore, whoever does not turn over and send to us every caulker in his district after reading and acknowledging the present letter, sparing even one of them, we won't accept his property in lieu of his life [**9**].[75]

Helladios, who forwarded the order, urged Papas to arrest any fugitive caulkers and send them on in a boat, in handcuffs (*xylomangana*).

Caulkers, of course, were not the only people who ran away. Fugitive taxpayers were also a serious problem, and had been since the very beginning of the Arab administration when the introduction of the new poll tax raised the fear that people

74 These were presumably the public workers, *ergatai dēmosioi*, of Babylon mentioned in the fragmentary **53.**

75 See also P. Apoll. Copt., 5 (MacCoull 142 f.) which deals with conscripted (unskilled) workers, *ergatai*, who had evidently run away.

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would make serious efforts to avoid it.[76] This certainly happened in Papas' district, for the topoteretes had to write him more than once demanding a list of all strangers (who would necessarily include tax fugitives) in his pagarchy, on whom a tax or fine of three nomismata was to be assessed [**13, 14**].

The fleet demanded more than people. In fact, war at sea involved mobilizing a significant part of the resources of Egypt – materials for shipbuilding, supplies and equipment for the fleet, food and supplies for the sailors.[77] All this is much better known from the Aphrodito papyri, a generation later than the Papas documents, but these papyri give enough information to indicate that such a wide-ranging economic and military organization was already in place.

As the governor's decree noted, sailors had to bring their own equipment and provisions, to be supplied by the pagarchy (their salaries were paid from the general taxation: **28**: *ek tou dēmosiou*). Consequently one of Papas' accounts [**83**] mentions money paid out to a deacon to buy bread for the sailors of the fleet, to be issued, as in the governor's document, by a *pistikos*; while [**30**] mentions boiled-down wine apparently for the same purpose.[78] Another lists products issued by the local storehouse [**96**]; they include 54 artaba of bread for 18 caulkers (that is, they, like the sailors, were to bring their provisions with them) and vinegar for Clysma, the naval station and shipyard on the Red Sea.[79]

Goods for shipbuilding were in constant demand, both in the form of raw material and finished products. Acacia wood was especially valued for its ability to stick together when wet: in **11**, Helladios reports sending some to Papas, who in turn was to send his agent to a certain Aristophanes, evidently a specialist, who would select pieces suitable for making the pegs used to attach rams to the front of the ships. The Coptic texts give further examples of demand for acacia both from Papas and from a churchman.[80] They also show that entire keels and masts, as well as ropes and anchor-cables, were being demanded.[81] In **20,** the amīr, via the notarios Theodore, sent out an order for *psellia* to Papas whose pagarchy's quota was 120. Theodore duly received them [**21**] and sent them on to Babylon – that is, they were a requisition of the central government. The terms used, *psellia* and *podopsellia*, at first seem to refer to bracelets and anklets, but more probably they indicate equipment for the fighters of the fleet, respectively armbands (or fittings or clamps for artillery) and greaves.[82]

76 See CPR XXII.1, with the comments of Sijpesteijn, "The Arab Conquest", 444–6.

77 For all this, see Fahmy, *Naval Organisation*, 75–112, with full reference to the Aphrodito papyri, on which see P. Lond IV, xxxii–xxxv.

78 Note the sailors, bread and wine requisitioned in P. Apoll. Copt., 5 (MacCoull, 142).

79 For the importance of this arsenal, see Fahmy, *Naval Organisation*, 23–7, and for Clysma as the entrepot for shipping wheat to Arabia, see CPR XXII 44, with the discussion on p. 225, as well as Sijpesteijn, "The Arab Conquest", 447. The Count, for whom supplies were also ordered in this document, was apparently a local notable somehow supported by the pagarchy: see Rémondon *ad loc.*

80 MacCoull 142, 145, citing three papyri.

81 *Ibid.*

82 *Psellia*: John Haldon, "Theory and practice in tenth-century military administration", *Travaux et Mémoires* 13, 2000, 201–352 at 275; *podopsellia*: *idem, Constantine Porphyrogenitus: Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions* (Vienna, 1990), 279.

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Unclear if the earlier discussion of the person being referenced was ibn Sa'd or al-Malik is applicable to all instances of ibn Sa'd's mention or not.

Skins were another demand, one which Papas was chastized for being slow to fulfil [*diphthera* **29**; cf. the *dermata rouzikou* of **94** – to be issued to a Saracen, Abū Yezid – and **95**]. They too had a use for the fleet, as padding to protect the ships against fire or ramming.[83]

The demands of the fleet were enormous and fell especially heavily on Egypt, which had a long tradition of shipbuilding and producing fleets and sailors. It was Muʿāwiya who organized the first Arab fleet.[84] According to tradition, he proposed building a fleet to the caliph Umar, but the caliph rejected his plan, probably believing that the state was already stretched to its limit. When Muʿāwiya's cousin ʿUthmān succeeded in 648, however, the situation changed as the latter embraced the naval plan with enthusiasm. Its first result was a successful attack on Cyprus in 649, which devastated the country, amassed huge quantities of loot, and brought back thousands of captives (a contemporary inscription fantastically claims 120,000).[85] An Egyptian contingent from Alexandria, commanded by the governor ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd, was actively engaged. Cyprus suffered another major raid in 653, as did Crete, Cos and Rhodes (where the Arabs established a base).[86] Egyptian ships are not mentioned specifically on these occasions, but they played a major role the next year in the greatest expedition of the period when a huge fleet, manned by fighters from the entire empire and with warships outfitted in Alexandria and the coastal region, set out against Constantinople.[87] They reached Chalcedon, opposite the Byzantine capital, only to be destroyed by a storm. The Byzantines, taking advantage of the catastrophe, counter-attacked in the following year, 655, in an expedition whose importance is revealed by its being led by the emperor Constans II in person. It met the Arab fleet at Phoenix on the south-west coast of Asia Minor, only to suffer a resounding defeat. In this expedition, which culminated in what the Arab sources call the Battle of the Masts, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Saʿd commanded the fleet, whose sailors were Egyptians while the fighters were Arabs.[88]

83 Fahmy, *Naval Organisation*, 85.

84 For the origins of the Muslim navy and its activity under ʿUthmān, see Aly Mohamed Fahmy, *Muslim Sea-Power in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Cairo, 1966), 73–89; cf. Humphreys, *Muʿāwiyah*, 53–8, 109.

85 See the critical edition of the text in *Bulletin épigraphique* 1987, 352 and note that it claims that another 50,000 were carried off in the raid of the following year. The Syriac chronicle of 1234 gives a detailed account of these attacks: *Chronicon anonymum ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, tr. I. B. Chabot (= *CSCO, Scr. Syr* 3. 14, Louvain, 1937), 209–12 (Latin); translated (English) by Andrew Palmer in *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool, 1993), 173–7.

86 For the chronology of the attacks on Cyprus, see Alexander Beihammer, *Nachrichten zum byzantinischen Urkundenwesen in arabischen Quellen (565–811)* (Bonn, 2000), docs 251, 252, 256 and especially 276, with full discussion and references.

87 For this expedition and its context, see Shaun O'Sullivan, "Sebeos' account of an Arab attack on Constantinople in 654", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 28, 2004, 67–88, and for the continuing importance of Alexandria, see Petra Sijpesteijn, "Travel and trade on the river", in Sijpesteijn and Sundelin (eds), *Papyrology*, 121 f., and Fahmy, *Naval Organisation*, 27–30; cf. P. Lond., xxxiii

88 Ṭabarī I, 2867–70, translated as *The Crisis of the Early Caliphate* by Stephen Humphreys (Albany, NY, 1990), 74 ff.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 189–91.

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These great battles, which consumed enormous resources of men and material, exhausted both sides, and the civil war that soon followed brought a temporary stop to naval expeditions. Once Muʿāwiya was firmly established in power, however, the fight at sea resumed with a vengeance. Naval expeditions against Byzantium are attested for 664, 668, 669 and 670, with Egyptian participation noted for 664, 668 and 669.[89] The war was not all one-sided, for the Byzantines aimed to weaken Egypt, whose resources and fleet posed a constant danger. In 665, Muʿāwiya is reported to have sent an army into Egypt to destroy Byzantine forces there, killing 5,000 of them.[90] The circumstances are unknown, but presumably involved a landing on the coast, as in 673, when the Byzantines occupied the town of Paralos.[91] One consequence of this coastal vulnerability was the establishment of the major naval arsenal at Fusṭāṭ, far safer from attack than Alexandria, whose population was in any case of dubious loyalty. These hostilities culminated in the second Arab expedition against Constantinople, which set out in 674, established a base at Cyzicus on the Sea of Marmara, and continued its attacks during three seasons. There was a final raid in 678 or 679.[92] Since the governor's letter [**106**] is undated, it cannot be associated with any particular raid, but the angry denunciation of fleeing caulkers by the amīr Jordanes [**9**] would suit the great expedition against Constantinople, for he was quite probably in office at that time.

All these demands, in addition to the regular taxes and requisitions, caused grave problems for the pagarchs, whose complaints may have had some substance. Papas refers to the great distress, *panstenōsis*, of his district when writing to the topoteretes [**10**] and his colleague Plato, with whom he had to co-operate on irrigation works in Latopolis, sympathetically acknowledges the distress and shortage of manpower that afflict Papas [**26**].

The Greek texts of this archive are concerned almost exclusively with civil matters, whether public or private, and give no hint of the importance of the church in the life of the people. Only the Coptic documents mention the "brothers" – i.e. monks, and show that the monastic communities raised cattle and improved their land.[93] The partially excavated remains of Apollonos put the church in perspective by uncovering a substantial monastery, apparently built in the late sixth century, adjacent to the western wall of the city.[94] This might have been the monastery of Abba Kyros, mentioned in SB I.5114 of the early seventh century. When the church was built, the wall was no longer in use (the monastery covered part of it and reused some of its bricks), and the main defences were confined to the central citadel at the highest point of the settlement, where reinforced fortifications and a two-storey building were uncovered.

89 Ṭabarī II, 67, 85–7 = translation 71, 93, 94, 96.
90 See the *Chronicle of 1234* (tr. I. B. Chabot) sec. 114 = Palmer 188.
91 Fahmy, *Naval Organisation*, 35, with source references.
92 Ṭabarī II, 181, 188 = translation 192, 199; it was led by Junadah ibn Abi Umayya, but the date was disputed.
93 MacCoull, 145.
94 K. Michalowski et al., *Tell Edfou 1938* (Cairo, 1938), II.22–5.

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One of the main functions of Apollonos in the Byzantine period – attested as late as the end of the sixth century – had been as a garrison, but its military role, if any, after the Arab conquest is invisible in these documents.[95]

Ecclesiastical life of a different sort flourished in Upper Egypt, where monasticism remained an intrinsic part of the country's life. Late in the sixth century, Apa Abraham, bishop of Hermonthis, founded a monastery dedicated to St. Phoibammon in a remote location above the Nile.[96] When the Patriarch asked him to move to a more convenient site, he chose the abandoned Temple of Hatshepsut (now called Deir al-Bahri) near the town of Djeme, the ancient Thebes. His testament, which survives in Greek (a language the bishop did not know), reveals a characteristic of this church, that the monastery and its lands were the personal possession of the abbot.[97] The will specifies that the monastery and everything in it – clothing, books, wood and pottery household utensils – as well as all movable property and real estate be left to the priest Victor to do with as he would, maintaining the church of its revenues and caring for the poor. No one else, especially members of Abraham's family, had any claim whatsoever. The will was drawn up in strict legal terms, reminiscent of Ammianus Marcellinus' famous characterization of the Egyptians as being litigious in the extreme.[98]

The monastery thrived. Victor left it to Peter (his will is dated 634) who in turn willed it to Jacob, in a document in Coptic dated to 660 or 675.[99] In similar legalistic terms, Peter provides for the future of the monastery, with clauses punishing violators of the will with a fine of a pound of gold. Jacob's will, written about 695, has also survived, listing among the monastery's property gold, silver, brass, clothes and books, as well as animals, trees, cisterns and fields, with buildings at the monastery, in the *kastron* of Thebes and the city, Hermonthis. In other words, the monastery was prospering through the reign of Muʿāwiya, as it continued to do through the eighth century. Other documents relating to the monastery are probably of Peter's time, but none are dated. In one of them, for example, a certain Elias, son of Solomon, committed himself to take care of the camels he had rented from the monastery, a hint of its manifold economic activities.[100]

95 Citadel: K. Michalowski et al., *Tell Edfou 1939* (Cairo, 1950) III.150–56; garrison: Gascou, "Edfou au bas-empire", 17 f.

96 See Włodzimierz Godlewski, *Le monastère de St Phoibammon* (Warsaw, 1986), especially 60–78, and the historical sketch in John Thomas and Angela Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* (Washington, 2000), I, 51 f.

97 Translated in Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 55–7.

98 Ammianus Marcellinus 26.6.1.

99 Peter's will in German translation: Walter Till, *Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Theben* (Vienna, 1964), 144–8, cf. Martin Krause, "Die Testamente der Äbte des Phoibammon-Klosters in Theben", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 25, 1969, 57–67; its date: Krause opts for 675, Godlewski, *Le monastère de St Phoibammon*, for 660.

100 *CO* 220: see Godlewski, *Le monastère de St Phoibammon*, 70, and his whole valuable discussion of the monastery's economic activities, 79–88.

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Papyrological abbreviations

BL: Berichtingungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten. Berlin and Leipzig, 1922–29; Leiden, 1958–.

BGU: Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later *Staatlichen*) *Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.* Berlin, 1895–.

CO: Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and Others (ed. W. E. Crum). London, 1902.

CPR: Corpus Papyrorum Raineri. Vienna, 1895–.

P. Apoll. Copt.: "The Coptic papyri from Apollonos Ano", *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. B. Mandilaras (Athens, 1988), II.141–7.

P. Berl. Zill.: Vierzehn Berliner griechische Papyri (ed. H. Zilliacus). Helsingfors, 1941.

P. Cair. Arab.: A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library.* Cairo, 1934–62.

P. Eirene II: Studia Graeca et Latina (Papyrologica) (ed. J. Bazant et al.). Prague, 2004. (=*Eirene* 40 (2004) 1–193.)

P. Grenf. II: New Classical Fragments and Other Greek and Latin Papyri (ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt). Oxford, 1897.

P. Harrauer: Wiener Papyri als Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Harrauer (ed. B. Palme). Vienna, 2001.

P. Lond. IV: H. I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum. Catalogue with Texts. Vol. IV, The Aphrodito Papyri*. London, 1910.

P. Mert. II: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton, II (ed. B. R. Rees, H. I. Bell, J. W. B. Barns). Dublin, 1959.

P. Prag. II: Papyri Graecae Wessely Pragenses (ed. R. Pintaudi, R. Dostálová and L. Vidman). Florence, 1995.

P. Ross. Georg.: G. Zereteli and P. Jernstedt, *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen. Spätrömische und byzantinische Texte*. Tiflis, 1930.

PERF: Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer durch die Ausstellung. Vienna, 1894.

PSI: Papiri greci e latini. (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto.) Florence, 1912–79.

PSI Congr. XI: Dai papiri della Società Italiana: Omaggio all'XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia. Florence, 1965.

SB: Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten (ed. F. Preisigke et al.). Strasbourg and Göttingen, 1915–.

SPP III, VIII: C. Wessely, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde. Griechische Papyrusurkunden kleineren Formats*. Leipzig, 1904, 1908.

SPP XIX: Studien zu den koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Oberägypten (ed. A. Steinwenter). Vienna, 1920.

SPP XX: Catalogus Papyrorum Raineri. Series Graeca. Pars I. Textus Graeci papyrorum, qui in libro "Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer – Führer durch die Austellung Wien 1894" descripti sunt (ed. C. Wessely). Vienna, 1921.

T. Varie: Tavolette lignee e cerate da varie collezioni (ed. R. Pintaudi, P.J. Sijpesteijn et al.). Florence, 1989.

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Bulletin of SOAS, **72**, 2 (2009), 259–278. © School of Oriental and African Studies.
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Egypt under Muʿāwiya Part II: Middle Egypt, Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria

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Abstract
The first part of this paper discussed a large collection of documents from Upper Egypt illustrative of society and economy in the time of Muʿāwiya. Here, further papyri, of pagarchs of Arsinoe, present supplementary information about grain production, taxation, great estates, the postal service and the role of the church in the local economy. Information about Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria depends on literary sources and archaeology. Fusṭāṭ, which started as a camp, became more organized and controlled under Muʿāwiya's governors when the main shipyard was moved there. Alexandria, despite romantic descriptions, was at least partly ruined. Like Fusṭāṭ, it was the seat of a major garrison. Taken together, the evidence from Egypt shows much administrative continuity from Byzantine times, but with important new taxes and requisitions and a tighter central control. It suggests that Muʿāwiya ran a sophisticated and effective state.

Middle Egypt: Fl. Johannes and Fl. Petterios of Arsinoe and related documents

Documents relating to two pagarchs of Arsinoe in Middle Egypt have survived on a much smaller scale than those of Papas, but are sufficiently well dated to provide valuable supplementary information.[1] Flavius Johannes was pagarch in the 650s and 660s (his earliest document is of 653, the latest of 666). He evidently had a more distinguished career than Papas, rising to the very high rank of *endoxotatos illoustrios*, but nothing is known of his life or circumstances.[2]

One of Johannes' documents (CPR XIV 1, of 666) deals with what had traditionally been Egypt's most important tax, the *aisia embolē*. It employs the term carried over from Byzantine times, the "auspicious transport" or *felix embola*. Before the Arab conquest, this denoted the shipment of grain to Constantinople, one of the main functions of the Egyptian economy; but now, the grain fed Muslims, being sent either to storehouses in Babylon to supply the 40,000 troops

1 This discussion excludes the following documents, too fragmentary to provide any useful information: BGU III 737 (a *plērōtikē apodeixis*, "receipt for full payment" to the pagarch Johannes) of 662/3 and the following which, even though precisely dated, consist of headings only: SB I 4665 (9.ii.663), SB I 4797 (663/673); CPR X 134 (4.xii.671); SB I 4716 (17.iv.677).
2 For his documents and their dating, see B. Palme in CPR XXIV 199 f.

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stationed here, or shipped to Arabia for the population of the Holy Cities.[3] This document reveals the mechanism of collection: Aurelius Phoibammon, *meizōn* or headman of the village Boubastos, promises to collect grain for the *aisia embolē* of this year without deficit and specifies the stiff fine he will have to pay if there is any shortage – one gold nomisma per missing measure.[4]

From Antiquity, the government of Egypt collected taxes for everything. The *naulon* ensured that the cost of transporting the grain, whether to Constantinople or Babylon, fell on the taxpayers, not the state.[5] This is illustrated by P. Prag. II 152, datable to 653, a receipt to the villagers of Ampelion for the five *nomismata*, 6½ *keratia* they paid for the *naulon embolēs*.[6] The *zygostatēs* Elias handled the money, writing a *pittakion* for it. A *chartoularios*, Dorotheus, wrote the receipt; he was evidently an official of the pagarch's staff. The "*pittakion* of a *zygostatēs*" (here named Phoibammon) appears also in SPP VIII.1192b of 666, a receipt issued to the villagers of Alexandrou for 68 *rupara nomismata*, their payment for the first instalment (*katabolē*) of the taxes (*dēmosia*), money paid in by the deacon George.[7] The *zygostatēs*, as seen in the Papas documents, was the financial officer who received the taxes from the actual collectors, and turned them in to the pagarch's office; the *pittakion*, sometimes translated "chit", was a credit note, the equivalent of a cheque.[8]

The other substantial document of this administration, BGU II 366 of 660, gives details of production of *gonakhia*. In it, a villager named Aurelios Johannes son of Menas swears to the *endoxotatos illoustrios* pagarch Fl. Johannes to make and prepare in his own village the goods requisitioned for the account of the Saracens: one *gonakhion* and three blankets, or *strōmata*, according to the measure of the same Saracens. His obligation was serious, for if he failed to provide the goods, he promised to pay out of his own pocket six gold nomismata for each *gonakhion* and three for each *strōma*, indicating that these were very expensive goods indeed. The document does not reveal whether Aur. Johannes would be paid for the goods, or whether this is simply an obligation imposed on him. Since he willingly undertakes the job, however, it seems that the pagarch is farming out an obligation imposed on the

3 P. Lond XXXI, 1335 &c, P. Prag. II. 2, p. 82.

4 For the *meizōn* in the Byzantine period, see Germaine Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Egypte byzantine* (Paris 1928; henceforth Rouillard), 69 f. and CPR XXIV p. 150, and for its continuation after the conquest, Adolf Grohmann, "Der Beamtenstab der arabischen Finanzverwaltung in Ägypten in frühislamischer Zeit", *Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte; Friedrich Oertel zum achtzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (Bonn, 1964), 129 f. The present text was written by a *notarios*; the editor suggests that it may be the earliest attestation of the term in the meaning of "notary".

5 This was a regular item of the Byzantine tax system: Rouillard 143–8.

6 Strictly speaking, this document dates to the reign of the caliph ʿUthmān (644–656), but is included here since it forms part of the dossier of Fl. Johannes.

7 For the *rupara nomismata*, a term peculiar to Arsinoe and denoting nomismata of 23 (rather than 24) carats or their equivalent in copper, see B. Palme's discussion of P. Harrauer 60, p. 238. Another receipt, BGU III 737 of 663, is too fragmentary to provide any useful information.

8 See Nikolaos Gonis, "Five tax receipts from early Islamic Egypt", *ZPE* 143, 2003 149–57 at 150, and for the meaning of *pittakion*, Peter Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2006), 92 f.

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pagarchy and that the maker will be compensated for what was presumably skilled and important work, or at least supplied with the raw materials.[9]

Like Papas, Johannes had a whole staff working for him, including one official who does not appear in the Apollonos documents. Although SB I 4666 does not name Johannes, it is securely dated to 11xii 659, and thus falls within his term as pagarch. It is a fragmentary promise (without further context) by a certain Aurelius Anoup to the *lamprotatos* Anphou, *riparios* of Arsinoe. In Byzantine times, the *riparios* was head of the local police, whether in city or village; he presumably retained this function after the conquest.[10]

Other documents from Arsinoe, dated with varying degrees of certainty, may also be products of the chancery of Johannes, even though they do not name him. A note (SPP III 344) written by Anoup to the *symmachos* Apollo in October 658 (or 643) guarantees a loan. Anoup is qualified as *boukellarios* of the estate of the late pagarch Menas, indicating the continuing existence of these officers, what ever their exact duties may have been.[11] The notary Elias issued three surviving credit notes (*pittakia*) for taxes paid that give more incidental information. In SPP VIII 846 of September 660 (or 645), the villagers of Magais paid 24 *rupara nomismata* (a substantial sum, presumably a payment for the whole village) through Johannes, *grammateus*, or headman, of the *epoikion* of Mouei. In the sixth century, *epoikion* denoted an outlying settlement owned by the landlord but worked by tenants who were also employed on the landlord's directly managed estates.[12] The implications of its continued use of this term in the mid-seventh century have not been determined. SPP III 592 (ii 662 or 647) acknowledges payment of 14½ keratia for the second *kanōn*, evidently the tax of an individual, while P. Rainer Cent. 144 (663 or 648) is a receipt for a dyer (*bapheus*) for the taxes of the new *diagraphon*. A document of 665 mentions another local occupation: Aur. Georgios, a *tarsikarios* or weaver of fine linen, took out a loan for his own use (SB I 4664 = 4834).

Fl. Petterios, pagarch of Arsinoe for a few years in the late 660s, is a slightly less shadowy figure than Johannes. Documents that show him holding office are dated from 667 to 669 (he evidently succeeded Johannes); another that names him as deceased is of 672 or possibly 687.[13] In any case, another pagarch, Zacharias, was ruling Arsinoe in 674.[14] Petterios was a landowner, *ktētōr*, married to Flavia Marous, daughter of Fl. Menas, who had been pagarch in the 620s and early 630s.[15]

9 Compare the fragmentary BGU II 403 which employs the same language about the fine for failure to produce the goods (in this case by the *meizōn* Menas son of Nepheras): see the discussion of Federico Morelli, "*Gonachia* e *kaunakai* nei papiri", *JPP* 32, 2002, 68–71.

10 Rouillard 163 f.; cf. P. Harrauer 58, with further discussion and bibliography. The same *riparios* appears in CPR XIV 32 of 653, which is addressed to Flavius Iohannes *eukleestatos doux* of Arcadia. It was tempting to identify him with the pagarch Johannes, but chronology poses an insuperable obstacle: see the discussion in CPR XXIV, p. 205.

11 For Menas' estate, see below, 263 f.

12 See the numerous references in Sarris, *Economy and Society*, index, *s.v.* especially 38 f., 48, 115.

13 Listed and discussed by Worp in CPR X, p. 153.

14 *Ibid.*, 154.

15 For his chronology and career, with discussion of the relevant papyri, see B. Palme, "Excurs V: Der Pagarch Flavius Menas" in CPR XXIV 177–81.

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Two key documents establish the chronology of Petterios, as well as that of the whole Papas archive. On 29 December 668 (a firm date, determined by the year of Diocletian as well as the indiction), a gardener (*pōmarites*) named Aurelios Abraamios leased an orchard from the *endoxotatos pagarchos* Petterios, with a local priest, Neilion son of Menas, standing guarantor for the terms.[16] The lease included not only trees but a half-share in a cistern, a waterwheel and associated apparatus with two oxen to operate it. Abraamios took responsibility for paying the tax *(dēmosion)* of 8 2/3 *nomismata* on the harvest for the coming indiction XIII and providing unspecified services for the pagarch. If Petterios chose to end the lease, Abraamios promised to return the land in the condition he received it. Another Petterios, with the title of *lamprotatos*, served as the pagarch's *notarios.*

The other document is a requisition issued by Petterios on 22 October 669 to the people of the village of Straton, ordering them to provide salt and seasoning to Abu Neli[. . .], director of the local stable, for the stable of their village, according to the order (*epistalma*) of Jordanes.[17] The *stablitēs* of another village, Psenyris, brought the order. The document was signed by the notary Elias. In this case, the dux issued the general order to the pagarch, who passed on the specific request to the villagers. Jordanes is evidently the dux of Arcadia; he also appears in P. Apoll. 9 (quoted in Part I), issuing threatening orders about refugee caulkers to all the pagarchs of the Thebaid. This has been taken to indicate that Thebais and Arcadia were united under one administration, as they certainly were under Fl. Atias a generation later.[18] Significant also is the mention of the *stablon*, which reflects the functioning of an organized state postal service now run by Muslims, as well as a permanent Arab presence in the countryside.[19]

16 Published by P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Der Pagarch Petterios", *JÖB* 30, 1981, 57–61 (= SB XVI 12481); note the corrections of N. Gonis in *Tyche* 19, 2004, 257.

17 P. Mert. II.100, first published by H. I. Bell, "A requisitioning order for taxes in kind", *Aegyptus* 31, 1951, 307–12, with the correction of J. G. Keenan, "Two notes on P. Merton II 100", *ZPE* 16, 1975, 43–6.

18 There has been much discussion about the dukes of Arcadia: see most recently CPR XXIV pp. 203–05, with reference to earlier literature, and the list of the dukes of the Thebaid in J. Gascou and K. A. Worp, "Problèmes de documentation apollinopolite", *ZPE* 49, 1982, 89–91. The title seems to disappear from the record for about a century until 636 when Theodosius is named with the titles stratelates, dux and Augustalius – i.e. a combination of civil and military powers, a change perhaps introduced with the Byzantine reoccupation of 630. Theodosius was killed fighting the Arabs in 640; his successor, Philoxenos, installed by the conquerors, is only doux in 642 – that is, the post was now purely civilian, as it remained. His colleague Senouthios in the Thebaid is likewise doux. Damianos (649) and Fl. Johannes (655) are also only doukes (of Thebais and Arcadia respectively), but Jordanes appears both as doux of Thebais and of Arcadia (though the present document does not give his title). This has been taken to indicate that the two provinces were then united but, strictly speaking, Jordanes could have held these posts in succession, as perhaps suggested by P. Apoll. 9, where he addresses the pagarchs of Thebais (not Arcadia). Joseph (683) is also attested as doux in Arsinoe, without his jurisdiction being specified. The first certain evidence of Arcadia and the Thebaid being united comes from 699, when Fl. Atias (an Arab) is attested as doux of both provinces. Just to complicate matters, an anonymous doux of Arcadia was at the same time pagarch of Arsinoe in 653: CPR XXIV 33.

19 See Petra Sijpsteijn, "New rule over old structures: Egypt after the Muslim Conquest", in Harriet Crawford (ed.), *Regime Change in the Ancient Near East and Egypt: from Sargon of Agade to Saddam Hussein* (Oxford, 2007), 183. In 643, soon after the

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Three other requisitions survive. The first (SPP III 254), of 26 October 667, requests barley according to the *epistalma* of Seit; it was brought by Apa Ioulios and signed by the notary Elias.[20] Its mention of Babylon (in a fragmentary context) indicates involvement of the central government. The second (SPP III 253), a demand to the villagers of Melasippo for 90 *knidia* of wine of Boubastos, written by the notarios Petterios, is dated 7 October 668. The date is missing from the third (SPP VIII 1085) which orders the goods (whose nature is missing) to be turned over to the men of Thman (ʿUthmān?) b. Yazīd according to the *epistalma* of . . .b. ʿAbd al-Rahman.[21] SPP VIII 1078 of indiction VIII, apparently a receipt for taxes, that names Fl. Petterios (titles and context missing) can probably be assigned to the pagarch and to 664.

Two further requisitions were issued by the *ktētōr* Fl. Petterios, who is most likely our pagarch. One of them (SPP VIII 1079), dated to an indiction III (presumably 659 or 674) orders villagers to deliver grain to a *kamelitēs* for his pay; the other (SPP VIII 1188) is too fragmentary to interpret. These demands, issued by a landowner evidently on his own authority (and in his private capacity), may reflect the arrangements noted above, by which owners of estates collected taxes from their own peasants, as in the Byzantine autopract system which apparently had not yet entirely disappeared.[22]

Petterios was married to Fl. Marous; their names appear together, as *endoxotatoi*, in a text that mentions the taxes of the first *kanōn*, to be paid from the revenues of their estate (*ousia*): SPP VIII 869.[23] Marous was the daughter of Menas, pagarch (usually called *stratelatēs*) of Antinoe during the Persian occupation: the two securely dated documents that name him are of 622.[24] He apparently died by 643 (or 658) when he appears in a document as *en hagiois* ("among the Saints", i.e. deceased). The *endoxotatē* Fl. Marous is identified as the daughter of Menas *endoxou mnēmēs* ("of glorious memory") in SB I 4659 (apparently of 653), the guarantee of a lease. Since this makes no mention of Petterios, she was probably not yet married to him, but was evidently in control of her father's estate whose *boukellarios* is mentioned in a document of 643 or 658 (SPP III 344).

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conquest, the post was still manned by Christians: see P. Ross. Georg. III 50, a receipt for fodder from Aur. Kosmas, *stabilitiēs* of an *allagē* in a suburb of Arsinoe. The system for rapid communication, however, is so important that it would normally be put in trusted hands very soon after any change of regime: note the case of the Persian occupation where Persians seem to have been in charge of the post, at least at the highest levels: see C. Foss, "The *Sellarioi* and other officers of Persian Egypt", *ZPE* 138, 2002, 169–72.

20 His subscription was corrected by Keenan, "Two notes", 44.

21 SPP VIII 1190, which names the pagarch Fl. Petterios, is even more fragmentary; it appears to belong to this group. Of SB XVI 12482 only the address to the *endoxotatos* Fl. Petterios survives: see Sijpesteijn, "Der Pagarch Petterios", 60 f.

22 For another example of a *ktētōr* issuing a requisition, see SPP VIII 1191 of Heracleopolis. On autopract domains, see above, Part I, p. 15.

23 The fragmentary SPP VIII 877 mentions the same couple. In both cases, the taxes were to be paid to the priest Phoibammon.

24 For his chronology and career, with discussion of the relevant papyri, see B. Palme, in CPR XXIV 177–81.

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Fl. Marous herself is the subject of a small archive. These fragmentary documents, which give Marous the title *endoxotatē*, include two that are apparently requisitions, one addressed to the villagers of Kieratou, another written by a notary Kalomenas. A third text that mentions a vineyard (*ampelikon chōrion*) is dated Ind. II, apparently 673/4.[25] Others refer to a steward (*pronoētēs*) and an *allagē*, to suggest that Marous was involved in the operation of the local posting station, and of the estate.[26] Like the documents of her husband, these also indicate a certain autonomy, by which the landowners could request taxes in her own name. Since they are undated, it is not possible to tell whether Marous was administering the estate she inherited from her father, or whether, as widow of Petterios, she was in charge of his lands also.

In a fifteenth indiction, most probably 672, the donkey-drivers (*onēlatai*) Apa Ioulios and Menas, son of Cosmas, acknowledged receiving from the archdeacon George, son of Petterios pagarch of Arsinoe *endoxou mnēmēs*, one nomisma each for the indiction's work as *onēlatai* of his animals. Two deacons served as witnesses.[27] In this case, it appears that the late pagarch's son, otherwise unknown, continued to assume responsibility for the post station, showing once again the importance of heredity in this closely-knit society. They also reflect the continuing stability of an aristocracy where one family retained high office – and their land – under Byzantine, Persian and Arab rule.

This complex of documents casts further light on the *barīd.* The order of the amīr Jordanes, passed on by the pagarch Petterios, requisitioning supplies for the local stable reflects the interest of the government in the smooth functioning of the post, and indicates that the director of the local operation was an Arab. There were evidently stables in several villages, presumably staging-posts along the road. Local Christian magnates were also involved, for one of the documents of Fl. Marous mentions an *allagē* or station for changing horses, and her son George appears to have taken charge of it, or at least of organizing its animals. It is possible that Arabs ran the highest levels and that practical matters like supplying animals and goods formed an obligation imposed on the local pagarchs and their subordinates.[28]

A fragmentary papyrus, P. Bodl. I 77, securely dated to 671, may have been a product of Petterios' time.[29] It is addressed to the *endoxotatos kankellarios* Philoxenos, a high-ranking civil official, probably in the administration of the doux of Arcadia, but its content is lost.

A few documents survive from the successors of Petterios. A contract, P. Ross. Georg. III 53, addressed to the *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* Stephanos, dated to 673/4,

25 SPP III 247, 246, 250. Kalomenas also appears in SPP III 252. SPP III 248 bears only Marous' name without context.

26 SPP III 251 and 249, both fragmentary and undated. For the post as a liturgy on large landowners in the Byzantine period (a situation perhaps represented here), see Jean Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Egypte byzantine", *Travaux et mémoires* 9, 1985, 1–90 at 52–9.

27 SPP III 324, with the corrections of K. A. Worp in *ZPE* 28, 1978, 238. The date, 672 rather than 687, is suggested by the presence of Apa Ioulios, possibly the same man who delivered the governor's *epistalma* in 667.

28 The inner workings of the *barīd* are poorly known: see Adam Silverstein, *Postal Systems in the Pre-Modern Islamic World* (Cambridge, 2007), 50–59.

29 See Nikolaos Gonis and K. A. Worp, "P. Bodl. I 77: The King of Kings in Arsinoe under Arab Rule", *ZPE* 141, 2002, 173–6.

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is the most informative. First, it gives Stephanos the anomalous title *stratēlatēs*, which originally denoted a military function, but by the sixth century was purely honorary, and in the seventh had generally fallen out of use.[30] In this document, the head of the guild of fishermen (*kephalaiōtēs tōn halieōn*) promises to deliver 220 bundles of fish to the stratelates, at the risk (if he fails) to himself and his fishermen.[31] This appears to be a contract for future delivery, though oddly it makes no mention of payment, and seems more to resemble a promise of payment of a debt. The witnesses were John, deacon and *kollektarios* or money changer, and the banker (*trapezitēs*) George. Their presence indicates financial activity in Arsinoe, while that of the *kephalaiōtēs* shows the continuing organization of economic activity in guilds, as already implied in the documents of Papas.

Stephanos' successor, the *endoxotatos pagarchos* Fl. Zacharias, is named in a fragmentary receipt (P. Ross. Georg. III 52) from a *meizōn* Aur. Sotas, dated securely to 3. x. 674. A fragmentary contract of the same year (CPR XIV 16) names a *tarsikarios*, Ouenaphrios son of Apa Hol, who also appears in SPP VIII 707 of indiction IV, probably 675, which unusually mentions the *diagraphon tōn Sarakēnōn* – the poll tax, here specified as "of the Saracens" – and in SB I 4668 of 19. i. 678, an incomplete list of names of people somehow involved with a *nosokomeion* (a charitable institution for the sick, aged or poor), perhaps as donors.[32]

A few documents survive from the years immediately after Muᶜāwiya, prior to the second Arab civil war. On 4 July 681, a villager, George son of Apollos, leased five *arourai* of land for sowing from the deacon Sergios son of Paul of Arsinoe.[33] The term was three years; the rent 1/3 nomisma, to be paid annually. The document was issued by the notary Kallinikos, who also signed another small-scale lease (the rent was only 8 carats), which is probably to be dated March/April 672 (BGU III 841).[34] The last datable document of this period was issued on 16 January 683, when the cowherd (*boēlatēs*) Aurelius Kosmas leased a vegetable garden with palm and mulberry trees from the *megaloprepestatos* Paul, son of the late pagarch Stephanos (CPR VIII 71).[35] The land was part of the 10 ½ arourai belonging to Paul, on whom Kosmas, who describes himself as "your cowherd", was evidently dependent.

The evidence from other cities is extremely scanty, with Oxyrhynchus and Heracleopolis represented by only one datable document each.[36] On 22 March 669, the vintner (*ampelourgos*) Aurelius Serne acknowledged receipt of 2½

30 See the discussion of the editor, p. 228.

31 For the "bundles" of fish (*opsaria hormathia*) note that the Greek term can denote things hanging together, like beads on a necklace. It presumably means here dried fish strung together into bundles.

32 For *nosokomia* and similar institutions (like the *hospition* of P. Apoll. 46), usually run by the church.

33 P. Eirene II 10, with extensive commentary and reference to related texts.

34 Other documents, mostly fragmentary, that bear the name of Kallinikos, probably also belong to this period: see the list in P. Eirene II 10, p. 83 f.

35 This is probably the Paul mentioned in undated documents as pagarch of Arsinoe: see CPR X p. 155, with note 23. If so, the present papyrus may reflect a time when he had not yet assumed office.

36 This does not reflect a lack of documents from these places, only that very few can be dated specifically to this period.

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nomismata against which he pledged himself to deliver 168 *chymata* of wine to Aurelios Sergios of Oxyrhynchus, promising to replace any found defective (T. Varie 8). This is a contract for future delivery of an accustomed kind.[37] A tax receipt (SB XVIII 13771 = PERF 573) from Heracleopolis, acknowledging payment of 118 1/6 *arithmia nomismata*, specified as equivalent to 108 + 17 carats *ekhonta nomismata*, may be datable to 677.[38] It was issued by two Arabs, ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Abi Awf and ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Shurayh in both Greek and Arabic. If the dating is correct, it is the only bilingual document of this period from Egypt, though there are contemporary parallels from Nessana in southern Palestine. As such, it may mark the first step towards the introduction, then domination, of Arabic in these texts.

Accidents of survival have meant that virtually all the documents considered so far have dealt with the civil administration. Only a few papyri of this period give a dim and inadequate reflection of the power and wealth of the church, which remained enormously important in the life of Egypt. They all come from Arsinoe. On 16 July 663, a contrite thief made a solemn promise to the bishop Abba Petros (P. Berl. Zill. 8). Aurelius Serapion, a tenant of the bishop (he describes himself as *hymeteros geōrgos*) acknowledged that he had been caught stealing grain of the crop of the sixth indiction from the granary of the bishop's land which he farmed, and that the bishop had prosecuted him. After receiving petitions from the thief and others, however, Abba Petros showed mercy and forgave him this one time, on the condition that Serapion give the present written guarantee, solemnly swearing that if he were caught secretly or openly stealing grain again, he would pay a fine and turn himself over to the prison (*endoxon praitōrion*). This papyrus gives the only hint of the church being one of the great landowners of Egypt, with the bishop playing the major role in the administration of the ecclesiastical estates, which were worked by tenants, and exercising jurisdiction in matters related to them.

The same bishop Petros appears in a series of texts that have to do with food production.[39] These 32 receipts, probably datable to 661–665, show that seventeen villages delivered grain to the bishop, to *mesitai* (middlemen, often in charge of a granary, from which grain collected as taxes was distributed under their supervision) or to a *hypodektēs*, or receiver (usually of taxes). They turned it over to the bakers Elias the deacon, and Paeitos, who actually produced the bread. Although some aspects of this system remain obscure, it appears that the bakery was a private operation, with a deacon playing a major role in its operation, and that a substantial part of its production was destined for civil and military authorities (through the *mesitai* and *hypodektai* respectively) and

37 See H. Harrauer and P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Verkauf von Wein gegen Vorauszahlung", *CE* 57, 1982, 296–302; cf. Niko Kruit, "Three Byzantine sales for future delivery", *Tyche* 9, 1994, 67–88.

38 SB XVIII 13771; see the discussion of W. F. G. J. Stoetzer and K. A. Worp in "Zwei Steuerquittungen aus London und Wien", Tyche 1, 1986, 197–202; for the date, Kruit "Three Byzantine sales", 72 n. 32. ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Abi Awf also issued SPP VIII 1198, perhaps of 664 or 679 (though, like the main text, it could also be of the early eighth century).

39 See the new edition of SPP III: *Griechische Papyrusurkunden kleinerer Formats Neuedition*, ed. Fritz Mitthof (Vienna, 2007), 209–36, with the introduction xxxi–xxxvi.

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for the needs of the Church. In other words, the grain and the bread were associated with a system of state-run taxation, production and distribution.

The notary Kallinikos of Arsinoe, active in the 670s and 680s, signed a curious document, SB I 4658 (date missing). In it, four men of the village Philoxenos of the *nomos* of Arsinoe give a formal guarantee to the bishop, who is also *grammateus* and *epistatēs* of Arsinoe.[40] They promise to ensure the good behaviour of their fellow villager Aurelius Ammon, whom they have taken from the bishop's custody, and to ensure that he will be reconciled with his wife Maria and treat her kindly, "as is suitable for free women", openly and henceforth. If they fail, they will return him to imprisonment, and if they fail to do this, will give the priest a full account of the reasons. One of the witnesses was the *grammateus*, or headman, George. This text reflects both the central role of the church in maintaining social equilibrium, and the kind of pressure it and fellow villagers could bring to bear on an individual whose behaviour (he may have been a sufficiently notorious wife-beater or trouble maker) was so unacceptable as to merit imprisonment.

The last document to be considered here, P. Grenf. II 100, is a fragmentary receipt for payment from Aurelius Kosmas, *paratouras tōn presbeuterōn*, apparently secretary (the word is unattested elsewhere) of the priests to Victor, *ek prosōpou* of the *eukleestatos doux* Joseph – that is the duke's representative, more familiar as the topoteretes. It is dated 16 January 684, but most of its content has been lost.

If the church is only dimly revealed by these documents, the military is virtually invisible. Most Muslim troops were stationed in Fusṭāṭ and in Alexandria, but a later text suggests that detachments were posted throughout the country. In this Arabic letter of 709 (P. Cair. Arab. III 150), the governor Qurra b. Sharik requests Basilios, the administrator of Aphrodito, to find out about the registration of soldiers in the villages of his district. Some of the military had told him that they had been registered by forms (*kitba*) in the villages for the last forty years, but he could find no trace of them. Even if "forty" represents a vaguely large number, the text suggests that such forms could have been issued in the time of Muʿāwiya, who thus perhaps regulated the settlement of Arab soldiers in the countryside. Alternatively, the registration my have involved assigning the support of particular military contingents to specified villages, or listing soldiers who would have been used to support the collection of taxes.[41]

New and old capitals

So far, this discussion has been based on contemporary documents preserved on papyrus. For the great cities, however, it must depend on literary sources, most of them compiled more than a century after the events they describe, and thus often of doubtful reliability. Wherever possible, the evidence of archaeology

40 The editors restored the recipient's office as priest, but the honorific terms by which he is addressed (*tē hymetera hagiosynē*) and the respectful tone suggest rather that he was the bishop.

41 See the discussion of Fred Donner, "The formation of the Islamic state", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106, 1986, 283–96 at 286.

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has also been adduced to provide a perhaps more reliable image, though one that remains very fragmentary.

By the middle of the seventh century, Egypt's capital Fusṭāṭ was a vast sprawling place that was taking on the characteristics of a city. The Arab forces, under ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAṣ, had captured it after a long siege in April 641. They then advanced on Alexandria which finally surrendered in September 642. According to one tradition, ʿAmr wanted to make Alexandria his capital, but the caliph ʿUmar overruled him on the grounds that there must be no water intervening between him and his army.[42] Therefore Fusṭāṭ was chosen, a place with a strategic location on the right bank of the Nile, at the edge of the desert and at the head of the Delta, suitable for dominating both Upper and Lower Egypt. The tribes who composed the army were granted allotments (*khiṭṭa*, plural *khiṭaṭ*) widely scattered over a vast area stretching five or six kilometres along the river and one or two inland from it. Most important were the Ahl al-Raya, the People of the Banner, consisting of ʿAmr's guard, the Quraysh (the Prophet's tribe), and tribes from Medina. The centre of their encampment was the mosque built by ʿAmr and the administrative buildings and markets that grew up around it. This lay to the north-east of the original pre-Islamic settlement, the heavily fortified town of Babylon, which remained Christian (though with a Muslim garrison) and was the centre for the experienced scribes and record keepers who would prove essential for running the new administration.[43] North of all these settlements lay the entrance of the canal that connected Fusṭāṭ with the port of Clysma on the Red Sea. Near its mouth were the granaries that stored the wheat sent in as tribute from the whole country. Muʿāwiya resumed the shipment of food and oil to support the Muslims of Medina; this had begun in the caliphate of ʿUmar and had involved excavating the ancient canal of Trajan from Babylon to the Red Sea, and a significant reorientation of Egypt's economy, with much of the grain that had been sent as *embole* to Constantinople now going to Arabia.[44]

Fusṭāṭ was originally a camp where the Muslim warriors, numbering at first some 15,000, stayed in tents or huts of mud and reeds. Its establishment as capital of an enormously rich province brought growth and wealth. Settlers poured in: when ʿAmr was reappointed as governor in 658 he brought a large army, and in 673 more men were sent in from Basra in Iraq, where Muʿāwiya's governor Ziyad was bringing the turbulent tribal element under control.[45] According to one report, the number of fighters had risen to 40,000 by Muʿāwiya's time.[46] Muʿāwiya, in an apparent effort to conduct a census and thus to control the

42 For what follows, see Wladyslaw Kubiak, *Al-Fusṭāṭ, Its Foundation and Early Urban Development* (Cairo, 1987, henceforth "Kubiak"), especially 58–131.

43 Kubiak, 51–7, 106–08.

44 Baladhuri, *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), 216, translated as *The Origins of the Islamic State* by P. K. Hitti (New York, 1916), 341.

45 Maqrizi, *Kitāb al-mawāʿiz wa-l-iʿtibar fi dhikr al-khitat wa-l-āthār* (Bulaq, AH 1270 = 1853), 178. This was a frequent policy of Muʿāwiya: see Baladhuri, *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān*, 119 (translation 180) where he transplants Persian troops who had joined Islam from Iraq and inland Syria to the Mediterranean coast, and 280 (trans. 441) where he orders Ziyad to move Persians to Syria.

46 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Charles Torrey (New Haven, 1922), 102.

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number of people on the *diwan*, appointed a man over every tribe to go around each morning and record all births during the night.[47] There were also numerous workers and servants of all kinds, Muslim as well as Christian, for the Arab fighters were purely military, doing no other kind of work. Christians settled in the northern part of the city, where the governor Maslama ibn Mukhallad allowed them to build a church over the objections of the Arab troops – he silenced them by pointing out that the Christians, not they, owned the land in question.[48]

By this time, the open spaces between the original *khiṭaṭ* had been filled in and the city spread over a vast area. Literary sources record mosques, baths, markets and administrative buildings, as well as some quite grand houses.[49] One of these was built by order of Muʿāwiya for his daughter Ramla while he was still governor of Syria, but he subsequently gave it to the community. Muʿāwiya also ordered his governor ʿUqba ibn Āmir (665–667) to turn some centrally located property over to his son Yazīd. Maslama ibn Mukhallad seems to have presided over much of the expansion of Fusṭāṭ. In 673, he enlarged the mosque of ʿAmr, by adding minarets in the form of four corner towers (and prominently displaying his own name on the building), and brought at least some religious order to the city by requiring that everyone pray at the same time, whereas the tribes had often been erratic in choosing their hours of prayer.[50] This regime also saw the greatest addition to Fusṭāṭ's military and administrative importance when the main shipyard was transferred there from Alexandria in 674, as a result of continuing Byzantine raids on the vulnerable Mediterranean coast. It was established on the island in the Nile, al-Jazira, now called Roda, an area that had already been fortified and apparently controlled by the military in Byzantine times. It was connected to the main settlement by a bridge of boats.[51]

The Arab tribes settled in the garrison cities of Iraq were notoriously turbulent and difficult to control. Those in Fusṭāṭ seem to have been less troublesome, but they could cause problems for the government on occasion.[52] Maslama ibn Mukhallad paid salaries in cash and in kind to the men on the *diwan*, as well as to the scribes and for the transport of grain to the Hejaz. When he sent the surplus of 600,000 dinars to Muʿāwiya, however, one of the fighters objected that the money should not leave the country and stood by the mosque asking everyone whether they had received their full salaries.[53] He was disgusted to

47 *Ibid.*
48 *Ibid.*, 132.
49 Houses: Kubiak, 123–8.
50 Mosque, enlargement and minaret: K. A. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture I* (Oxford, 1969), 36 ff., 58 f. See also al-Kindi, *Kitāb al-wulāh wa kitāb al-qudāh*, ed. R. Guest (Leiden, 1912), 38 f.; cf. M. van Berchem (ed.), *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. Première partie, Egypte* II (Cairo, 1930), 1–5 and Eutychius, *Gli annali*, tr. Bartolomeo Pirone (Cairo, 1987), 358. Prayer time: Kubiak, 92.
51 For the island see Kubiak, 104–06, and for the arsenal Aly Mohamed Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Cairo, 1966), 35–42 with further references. The prime source seems to be the laconic statement of Maqrizi, *Kitāb al-mawāʿiz*, 178 who gives the date but not the circumstances.
52 For the following accounts, see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 101 f.
53 If this sum represents the fifth of revenues traditionally due to the caliph, it would imply a total tax income of three million *dinars*, consonant with the attested taxes of two million

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find out they had. Likewise, as noted above, the troops objected when Maslama allowed the Christians to build a church. Finally, when Muʿāwiya gave land in the Fayyum to his son Yazīd, the troops raised such an outcry that he was forced to restore the land to the tax rolls, for its revenue had gone to support the army. It may have been reasons like these that impelled Maslama eventually to leave Fusṭāṭ for Alexandria.

The great growth that the texts mention is vividly confirmed by archaeology, even though only a very small part of Fusṭāṭ has been uncovered. Some excavations suggest that this may have been a time when more order was brought to the site by the construction of two or three main thoroughfares that converged on the centre, linking various parts of the city together.[54] Most striking are the results of the excavation of Istabl Antar in the southern part of Fusṭāṭ, where the earliest level, on virgin soil, consisted of postholes for tents, huts and enclosures for animals – that is, traces of the original camp. These were rapidly succeeded by more substantial buildings, of a surprisingly high quality. Rectangular houses with attached courtyards that contained gardens were built with foundations and lower courses of cut stone and a superstructure of adobe or baked brick; interior walls were plastered. Fragmentary remains from other parts of the site indicate that some houses had stone floors and even marble revetment.[55] The new settlers evidently got rich fast, but adapted quickly to their new environment, for the pottery that they long continued to use in their daily lives, whether for eating, cooking or storage, was virtually indistinguishable from the Byzantine, implying a substantial continuity of manufacturing techniques and probably eating habits. At the same time, beginning in the mid-seventh century, imported pottery seems to disappear from the district, to suggest that Egypt was becoming remarkably self-sufficient, making its own material goods and producing the oil and wine that had previously arrived from the Mediterranean.[56]

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under ʿAmr at the beginning of the occupation and the four million raised by his successor ʿAbd Allah ibn Sa'd (648–658), a sum considered excessive: see Baladhuri, *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān*, 216, 218 (trans. 340, 342).

54 See George Scanlon "Al-Fustat: the riddle of the earliest settlement", *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East: III Land Use and Settlement Patterns* (Princeton, 1994), 171–9, where he dates this activity to *c*. 700 on the basis of coin finds. Elsewhere, he and his colleagues specify that the excavators found more than forty relevant coins, which they describe as imitations of Byzantine *dodecanummia*: see Th. Bianquis, G. T. Scanlon and A. Watson, "Numismatics and the dating of early Islamic pottery in Egypt", in Dikran Kouymjian (ed.), *Studies in Honour of G. C. Miles* (Beirut, 1974), 163–73. Unfortunately, their one illustration of these coins, plate 3 p. 167, actually shows two reverses (one printed upside-down) of a type struck by Heraclius in 629–641 (DOC 193–196). If most of the coins were in fact imitations of Byzantine issues, they could have been struck at any time in the first twenty years or so of the life of the city, perhaps indicating a mid-seventh century date for the streets.

55 R.-P. Gayraud, "Istabl Antar (Fostat) 1987–1989. Rapport des fouilles", *Annales islamologiques* 25, 1991, 57–87 at 63–66; cf. B. Mathieu, "Travaux de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale en 1999–2000", *BIFAO* 100, 2000, 443–575 at 524–6.

56 See Christine Vogt, "Les céramiques omeyyades et abbasides d'Istabl' Antar–Fostat: traditions méditerranéenes et influences orientales", in *La céramique médiévale en Méditerranée, Actes du VIe congrès de l'AIECEM* (Aix-en-Provence, 1997), 243–60.

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The new capital Fusṭāṭ was beginning to surpass the ancient metropolis of Alexandria, which at this time was probably the greatest city in the entire Muslim realm. It certainly impressed its Arab conquerors.[57] ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAṣ is supposed to have written back to the caliph ʿUmar that "I have taken a city of which I can but say that it contains 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 400 theatres, 12000 sellers of green vegetables, and 40000 tributary Jews", while a later writer claimed that "the moonlight reflected from the white marble made the city so bright that a tailor could see to thread his needle without a lamp". The city still had broad colonnaded streets and, most astonishing of all, its miraculous lighthouse, the Pharos, still standing to its full height of over 400 feet, and still containing a mysterious mirror in its topmost chamber.[58] According to a contemporary visitor, the pilgrim Arculf, who was in Alexandria in 680–81, it took most of the day to walk across the city, which had a powerful circuit of walls; outside them stood the church where Saint Mark was buried.[59] These walls apparently surrounded the city while smaller circuits protected special areas within, notably the walls built by Justinian to protect the harbour where grain was stored for shipment to Constantinople.[60]

Alexandria may have seemed enormous and spectacular, but texts and archaeology alike reveal that parts of it were in a sorry state.[61] Entire districts had been abandoned, and much of the rest was desolate or squalid, with classical levels buried under piles of debris. Very limited excavations have revealed houses with walled courtyards of the eighth century built over dismantled Byzantine buildings, along with small shops that lined the still-existing classical street pattern.[62] The city's cathedral, built into the ancient Caesareum, still functioned, but some churches were turned into mosques. ʿAmr built a mosque in Alexandria and others were added, but none has been located. For most of the seventh century, Alexandria remained a centre of trade, but substantial changes took place late in the period. Excavations have revealed that Alexandria, like Fusṭāṭ, imported oil and wine from the Mediterranean, and that contacts with Cyprus were close, for much Cypriot tableware was excavated there.[63]

57 For what follows, see Christopher Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1997), 337–51 and P. M. Fraser, "Alexandria, Christian and medieval", in *Coptic Encyclopedia* I, 88–92.

58 See the passages quoted in Alfred J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 2nd edition, ed. Peter Fraser (Oxford, 1978), 368 f., and the whole chapter (368–400) for the remains of ancient Alexandria.

59 See *Adamnan's De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Denis Meehan (Dublin, 1958), II, 30, pp. 98–105. Note that most of the description of Alexandria was lifted from an earlier writer, pseudo-Hegesippus, but the section about the walls and church was by Arculf himself. For the dates of his visit, see *ibid.*, 9–11. Note, though, that Pseudo-Severus, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church*, *Patrologia orientalis* V, 18, recounts that Saint Mark's was rebuilt by the patriarch John (681–689) in a work that took three years.

60 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 42, Procopius, *Buildings*. VI, i, 1–6.

61 See especially P. M. Fraser, "Byzantine Alexandria: decline and fall", *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie* 45, 1993, 91–106.

62 See M. Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie III, Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie* (Warsaw, 1984), 336–47.

63 See M. Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie I, La céramique romaine tardive d'Alexandrie* (Warsaw, 1975), and the convenient summary of the Egyptian material in Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford, 2005, 759–65.

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Alexandria evidently remained in closer relations with the Mediterranean than Fusṭāṭ through the seventh century at a time when local Egyptian products were generally replacing the imports. By the end of the century, however, Egyptian pottery becomes dominant everywhere, attesting to increased isolation of the country as Alexandria was transformed from a trading to a raiding centre, yet showing that economically the entire country, from Alexandria to Aswan, was closely tied together.

Alexandria was of considerable interest to the Muslim regime. The governor went there every year, to be met by the patriarch and to receive the city's taxes which in 685 were calculated at 1,000 dirhams a day.[64] It was not only Alexandria's size and wealth that attracted the caliph's attention, but also the danger of revolt by its traditionally turbulent Greek population. The caliph ʿUmar (634–644) stationed troops who were posted from Fusṭāṭ and rotated every six months. Muʿāwiya's brother, the governor ʿUtba ibn Abi Sufyan (664–655), effected a major reorganization, by which a permanent garrison of 12,000 was stationed in the city under the command of Alqama ibn Yazīd. When Alqama subsequently complained that his troops were insufficient to control the city, Muʿāwiya more than doubled their number by sending in 15,000 men from Syria and Medina.[65] New mosques in Alexandria would reflect the distribution of these forces, who were not allotted *khiṭaṭ*, but were settled in available houses.

Under the Byzantines, Alexandria had been the centre of power. Its patriarch headed the entire church of Egypt while, by an edict of Justinian, its governor, the Augustal Prefect, had both civil and military powers over the whole western Delta. He also organized the all-important shipment of grain to Constantinople. Although both patriarch and governor (a post filled by Christians with the Augustal title well into the eighth century) continued to have considerable prestige and influence, they lost their special powers – the Prefect no longer commanded any troops – and both were definitely subordinated to Fusṭāṭ and ultimately to the caliph.[66]

The patriarch Agathon (665–681) presided in a peaceful and prosperous time when it was possible to ordain bishops and priests and build churches.[67] The church had sufficient resources that Agathon, not long after assuming office, could organize the ransom of many captives whom the Arabs brought back when they raided Sicily.[68] He had problems, however, with the Augustal Prefect, a Christian named

64 *History of the Patriarchs, PO* V, 13.

65 There are varying traditions about the origin of the troops and the length of their posting: see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 191 f. Increased garrison: according to another version, Muʿāwiya sent 4,000 men from Medina and ordered another 4,000 to remain on alert in Palestine, ready to be sent to Egypt: ibid., 192.

66 Augustal prefect: for the Byzantine period, see Rouillard 27–36, and for later survivals, Paul Kahle, "Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Alexandria", *Der Islam* 12, 1922, 29–83 at 30 f.

67 For this and the following events, see Agathon's biography in *History of the Patriarchs, PO* V, 3–10. Note the correct dates of Agathon as established by Adolf Jülicher, "Die Liste der alexandrinischen Patriarchen im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert", *Festgabe Karl Müller* (Tübingen, 1922), 7–23.

68 This attack apparently took place in 669: see Alexander Beihammer, *Nachrichten zum byzantinischen Urkundenwesen in arabischen Quellen (565–811)* (Bonn, 2000), 325.

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Theodore who followed the Byzantine Chalcedonian sect rather than the Monophysite that prevailed in Egypt. In 680 or 681, Theodore bribed Muʿāwiya's son and successor Yazīd to give him full authority over the taxes of Alexandria, independent of the governor in Fusṭāṭ. He ruled Alexandria, Maryut and all the neighbouring districts.[69] Theodore thereupon demanded extraordinary amounts from Agathon – not only the normal 36 dinar poll tax for the bishop and his disciples, but an enormous sum for the sailors of the fleet. Theodore requested 7,000 dinars, which may represent the cost of outfitting a naval expedition. When Agathon could not pay it, Theodore put him under house arrest. According to another version of the same story, Theodore forced Agathon to build ships for the fleet and to hand over the church's gold and silver vessels, so they could be transported to the treasury of the caliph.[70] Whether this means that the caliph was intervening directly into the affairs of Alexandria in order to increase his revenue, or simply that Theodore was using the goods to bribe Yazīd, is not clear. In any case, the church was being forced to subsidize construction and operation of the war fleet. Mention of shipbuilding suggests that an arsenal was still functioning in Alexandria which in any case remained the caliphate's major naval base, for it was from here that the frequent raids and naval expeditions set out against Byzantium. These anecdotes also suggest that the city, and especially the church, still commanded considerable resources.

Not long after these events, Agathon collaborated with a local magnate, Isaac, to overcome the hated Theodore. Isaac then took over the province. That may have been a temporary victory, for when Agathon died in 681, Theodore confiscated all his wealth, then died a horrible death of dropsy. He was succeeded as prefect by his son who was of a completely different character, becoming very close to Agathon's successor John (681–689).[71] An instance of the role of the church in supporting civil authority came during the administration of Maslama ibn Mukhallad, when the inhabitants of the district Sakha attacked some government employees (perhaps tax collectors?) with fire. The governor sent in seven bishops to help the governor Isaac resolve the situation. All this indicates that the civil administration of the city and province (whose history in this period is virtually unknown) maintained continuity under Christian officials, and that the patriarch still possessed considerable influence, but that ultimate decisions about the fate of Alexandria were made in Damascus.

Continuity and change

The available evidence illuminates the social, economic and political organization of Egypt in the generation after the conquest, when the new Arab rulers had developed an organized regime. It preserved many features of the Byzantine, but with some important innovations that made it a much more

69 This was apparently an extraordinary command, for Mareotis, on the edge of the desert west of Alexandria, had been assigned to Libya in the reforms of Justinian and shortly after Agathon's time, had a governor (*ra'is*) of its own (*History of the Patriarchs, PO* V, 18).

70 *Ibid.*, X, 372 f.

71 *Ibid.*, V. 10; it is hard to reconcile the two versions of Theodore's fate or of the name of his successor.

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authoritarian, tightly controlled and centralized government. In Egypt, Muʿāwiya presided over a sophisticated system that supported his aggressive foreign policy; the whole country could be as effectively exploited by Damascus as it had been by Constantinople.

The documentary evidence, of course, has important limits and deficiencies. It comes overwhelmingly from Upper Egypt, with some supplements from the Fayyum region. It tells about the capital, Fusṭāṭ, only by implication, and reveals virtually nothing about the greatest city, Alexandria. Except for superficial accounts of the governors, it is silent about the new ruling class, and about the Muslims in general. It offers very little specific information about the caliph's government or its relations with Egypt. It is even remarkably uninformative about the Church, whose important role in the life of the people is only dimly revealed. Historical texts and archaeology offer only a limited supplement. On the other hand, the papyri reveal a great deal about the level of government that impinged most directly on the lives of the people – the provincial administration of the pagarchs. They provide considerable insight into fiscal and economic activity, and with it the workings of society.

At first sight, continuity seems the dominant factor. So many institutions and practices survived from Byzantium that it would seem little had changed. The same officials collected the same vast array of taxes, with the pagarch presiding over the operation of a complex, highly hierarchic bureaucracy whose members maintained the pompous ranks and titles of their Byzantine predecessors. Its leaders had evidently received the traditional classical education that enabled them to communicate with each other in the familiarly florid language of courtly politeness. Below them were the usual range of administrators in city and country. The vast fiscal apparatus kept the same detailed records that Egyptians had known for centuries, keeping track of every individual and piece of land and ensuring that taxes were suitably assessed and collected. The government paid attention to even the most trivial local matters. Legal systems, contracts, leases and loans all took familiar forms. The pagarch still had some powers of local jurisdiction.

The society, too, would have been familiar to a Byzantine of the sixth century. At its apex were the great landlords whose estates and privileges seem to have been surprisingly unchanged, and who continued to dominate local politics. Papas had estates with varied economic activities and employees, some who called themselves his slaves, and others who really were. He and his fellows (most obvious in the case of Petterios and his wife) apparently still collected the taxes on their own estates, maintaining some aspects of the Byzantine *autopragia.* The majority of the population, the peasants, seem to have been (at least formally) free and salaried, but often show their state of dependence in the way they addressed the landowners, who included bishops, for the church, however dimly represented in these documents, still played an important role in the economy, with some of its clergy, as always, practising secular trades. The population was classified as *capita* for the purposes of taxation as it had been since Diocletian. Artisans and non-agricultural producers were organized into guilds, whose headmen dealt with the higher authorities and which collectively were assessed for taxation. A great range of occupations are attested, with bankers, linen weavers, dyers, fishermen, potters and bath attendants all reflecting a continuing variety of economic activity in addition to agriculture.

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To some extent, the image of continuity is misleading, for profound changes had taken place that affected everyone. The *aisia embolē*, for example, bears the name of the Byzantine system of exploiting Egypt's grain supply for the benefit of the imperial capital. But now the grain was going to feed Arabia's holy cities, or the Arab troops stationed in Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria. Here is a central change: the Christian population, and its leaders, had lost all role in the military, except for local policing duties. Egypt was firmly controlled by a foreign army maintained at high strength and concentrated in bases from which it could move easily. This was a country under occupation, not yet arrived at a point when there was any assimilation between the new conquering forces and the local population. When *muhajirūn* or Saracens appear in these documents, it is clear that they have uncontestable authority.

Likewise, the continuing power of the pagarchs is deceptive. They may still have estates and prestige – they even have *boukellarioi* (whatever their function may have been) – but they are now cogs in a vast apparatus over which they have no control. They follow the orders of the amīr or his representative and, however little they may like the orders, they have no choice but to obey. Detailed tax records are kept and maintained by the higher authorities, collection is carefully supervised, and the old independence that allowed the landlords to exploit and dominate their neighbours, and to keep much revenue for themselves, has gone forever. Most of their real power went to the amīr or doux, who issued assessments and demands but himself only followed the orders of the governor in Fusṭāṭ, a remote figure who rarely appears in these documents, for the papyri are narrowly focused, revealing activities at a local level and reflecting the point of view of the officials who were concerned with collecting the taxes and forwarding them on to their superiors.

The taxes may look familiarly Byzantine, but they include a major, and oppressive, addition, the *andrismos* or poll tax, introduced at the time of the conquest and imposed on all males over fourteen. In general, the tax burden seems to have been heavier and its collection more rigorously enforced than in Byzantine times, with detailed land surveys an important element in assessment. Another new burden was the system of military requisitions, the *rizq*, by which a variety of products could be demanded, including the expensive cloaks called *gonakhia*. Peasants and workers could only flee and become refugees, whom the government was determined to hunt down. Some fled from taxes, others from forced labour.

Conscription of people to work on public projects had always been a burden on the Egyptian population, but now it had a new, unpleasant, aspect – the fleet. Workers were conscripted to build ships in the arsenal of Fusṭāṭ, an unpopular obligation from which they fled, presumably because it meant staying far from home – or even worse, they had to serve as sailors, for this was the time of the *jihad* against Byzantium. When Muʿāwiya was governor of Syria, and culminating during his caliphate, the Islamic regime organized Egypt as the main source of men and material for its vast and endless naval expeditions. These were necessarily planned by the centre (first Medina, then Damascus) whose orders were passed down to the governor, then the amīr, then (often through the topoteretes) to the pagarch where these documents show their effects. The naval effort involved enormous demands: ships, men to make and man them, military equipment, supplies of all kinds, and food – as well as

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money to pay the sailors. The archive of Papas gives some hint of what was involved and shows that these efforts were affecting Egypt long before they are far better attested in the Aphrodito papyri.

The fleet raises a question that is central to discussion of this period: how far did Muʿāwiya actually control Egypt? It is often supposed that the governors operated with virtual autonomy, with very little interference from Damascus, and that most of the tax revenue stayed in Egypt. At first sight, the papyri support such notions, for they give no indication of money being sent to Damascus, nor do they reveal any intrusion by the caliph's government in local affairs, or even suggest that it had any direct control. To some extent, though, this is misleading for, as already noted, the papyri are intensely local documents that deal in most cases with the concerns of a pagarch and his relations with the next level of government, the provincial amīr. The pagarch had to make sure the taxes were collected, but was not concerned with where they went or how they were spent. Under the circumstances, it is no surprise that the papyri do not reflect the activities of the central government.

Yet the papyri do provide evidence for interference and control from the centre. The letter from Plato of Latopolis to Papas, **37**, reflects his anger at the inflexibility of the "Saracens of the Commander of the Faithful" who evidently had considerable power. Who were they? Obviously employees of the caliph, and most likely agents of the post, which was also used as a kind of spy service, to investigate local conditions and bring back intelligence to the caliph. The post was an important means for supervising and controlling the local officials.[72] On a larger scale, the elaborate preparations for the fleet, which involved the mobilization of workers and sailors, organization of building materials and supplies, and vast expenditure, could only be the work of the central government, for it involved Syria as well as Egypt, and no local governor had authority over another. Only the caliph could command action that involved more than one province. As the contemporary Armenian historian Sebeos explained, the "king of Ismael" gave orders to "Muʿāwiya the prince" to prepare the grand expedition of 655 against Constantinople. That is, the caliph (ʿUthmān) was giving orders to his subordinate in Damascus, as well as to authorities all over the empire.[73]

Muʿāwiya appears to have strengthened the administration of Egypt by at least beginning to carry out a detailed land survey [**73**] which could lead to more effective tax collection, and by establishing or reorganizing the *barīd*, the fast courier service. His order to count births in Fusṭāṭ (mentioned in a text, not a papyrus) could also have been preliminary to a census, this time of the Arab fighters and their families.

The literary sources, though not contemporary and, unlike the papyri, subject to the vagaries of long transmission, are even more explicit. They make it clear, for example, that the caliph appointed the governor and could remove him at will. The example of the hated prefect Theodore of Alexandria further indicates

72 In addition to Silverstein, *Postal Systems*, see Henri Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne du Calife Omaiyade Moʿawiya Ier* (Paris, 1908), 33, cf. 64, the fear of even the most powerful of Muʿāwiya's governors, Ziyad of Iraq, on hearing the arrival of the caliph's courier.

73 *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos*, tr. R. W. Thomson (Liverpool, 1999), sec. 169.

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that the caliph could undermine the governor's authority by appointing administrators independent of him, who would raise funds for the caliph's own use. The sources show that revenue was indeed sent to the caliph – 600,000 dinars a year in the time of Maslama ibn Mukhallad. But the centre did not need all Egypt's revenue, for it could order the way the money was spent, not just on the fleet but also on sending food to the Holy Cities of Arabia, and on paying the salaries of the troops. The governor may have commanded the garrisons, but it was Muᶜāwiya who determined their numbers and distribution, by sending in reinforcements to both Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria. These were drawn from Arabia and Iraq, further evidence of the caliph's ultimate control of the empire's armed forces.

Muᶜāwiya, of course, was not a dictator, for even he had to compromise with the arrogant Arab fighters who tried unsuccessfully to stop funds being sent to him from Egypt, but who did succeed in preventing him from taking a district in the Fayyum that he wanted to give his son Yazīd off the tax rolls that supported the army. Yet the caliph could oblige the governor to turn property over to him for his family's use.

In sum, Muᶜāwiya's Egypt was very different from, say, Justinian's. It was an occupied country whose vastly effective fiscal system was subordinated to the needs and desires of the new regime. Military power was entirely in the hands of the ruling "Saracens". Although the traditional officials maintained wealth and prestige, they were strictly subordinated to higher authority and the taxes they collected carefully supervised. However much the tax system looks unchanged, it included important new elements that increased the burden and could cause hardship at all levels. Perhaps most important were the demands of the fleet which affected everyone and reveal, however indirectly, the power of remote central government to make Egypt (and other regions) serve its will.

Papyrological abbreviations

BL: Berichtingungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten. Berlin and Leipzig 1922–9; Leiden 1958–.

BGU: Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later *Staatlichen*) *Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.* Berlin 1895–.

CO: Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and Others, ed. W. E. Crum. London 1902.

CPR: Corpus Papyrorum Raineri. Vienna 1895–.

P. Berl. Zill.: Vierzehn Berliner griechische Papyri, ed. H. Zilliacus. Helsingfors 1941.

P. Cair. Arab.: A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library.* Cairo, 1934–62.

P. Eirene II: Studia Graeca et Latina (Papyrologica), ed. J. Bazant et al. Prague 2004. (=*Eirene* 40 (2004) 1–193.)

P. Grenf. II: New Classical Fragments and Other Greek and Latin Papyri, ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. Oxford 1897.

P. Harrauer: Wiener Papyri als Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Harrauer, ed. B. Palme. Vienna 2001.

P. Lond. IV: H. I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum. Catalogue with Texts. Vol. IV, The Aphrodito Papyri*. London 1910.

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P. Mert. II: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton, II, ed. B. R. Rees, H. I. Bell, J. W. B. Barns. Dublin 1959.

P. Prag. II: Papyri Graecae Wessely Pragenses, ed. R. Pintaudi, R. Dostálová and L. Vidman. Florence 1995.

P. Ross. Georg.: G. Zereteli and P. Jernstedt, *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen. Spätrömische und byzantinische Texte*. Tiflis 1930.

PERF: Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer durch die Ausstellung. Vienna 1894.

PSI: Papiri greci e latini. (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto.) Florence 1912–1979.

PSI Congr. XI: Dai papiri della Società Italiana: *Omaggio all'XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*. Florence 1965.

SB: Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten, ed. F. Preisigke et al. Strassburg and Göttingen 1915–.

SPP III, VIII: C. Wessely, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde. Griechische Papyrusurkunden kleineren Formats*. Leipzig 1904, 1908.

SPP XIX: Studien zu den koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Oberägypten, ed. A. Steinwenter. Vienna 1920.

SPP XX: Catalogus Papyrorum Raineri. Series Graeca. Pars I. Textus Graeci papyrorum, qui in libro "Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer–Führer durch die Austellung Wien 1894" descripti sunt, ed. C. Wessely. Vienna 1921.

T. Varie: Tavolette lignee e cerate da varie collezioni, ed. R. Pintaudi, P. J. Sijpesteijn et al. Florence 1989.

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